

SOCIAL WELFARE

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F. EMERSON ANDREWS

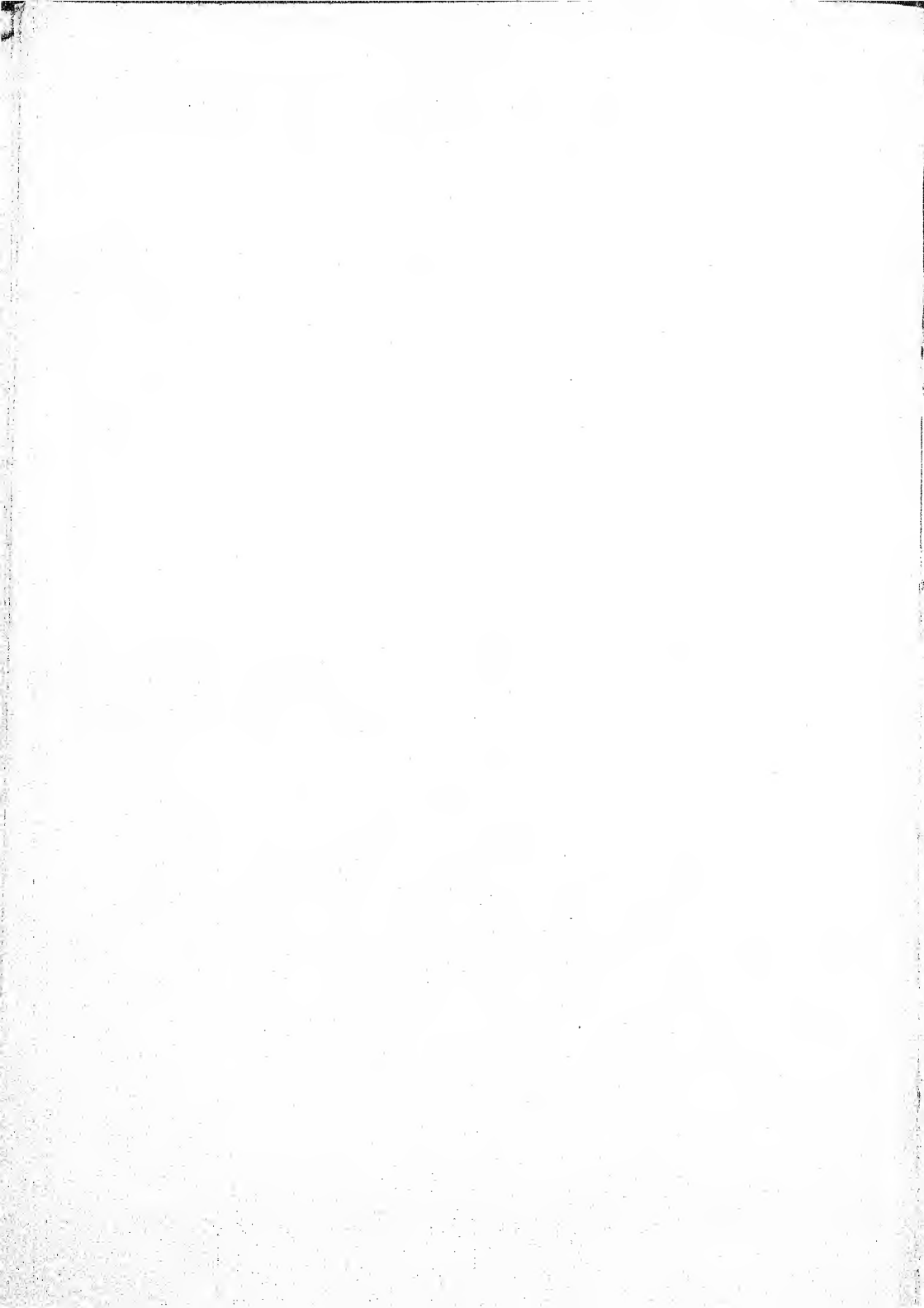
Director of Publications, Russell Sage Foundation



**Includes a Directory
of 505 Foundations**

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PREFACE

THE BROAD purpose of foundations is the distribution of wealth for the public good. This purpose they pursue in widely differing ways, but in general they represent a new and more scientific attitude toward giving, stressing the discovery of facts, education, prevention, correction, and cure as contrasted with relief of individual need. The funds they administer are much smaller than the public assumes; we estimate that in a typical year in the United States, all the foundations together spend somewhat less than three cents of the average philanthropic dollar. But because foundations are organized solely to do an effective job of giving, and are profiting by cumulative experience, they are often the pioneers in new fields and the leaders of progressive movements, exercising an influence out of proportion to the mere 3 per cent of the budget of private philanthropy which is within their control.

This short book on foundations is the outgrowth of a long experience. The Russell Sage Foundation, established in 1907, was one of the earlier foundations. Because its operations have centered chiefly in the field of social work and social welfare, and have included the maintenance of an extensive research and reference library, the Foundation began as early as 1915 the compilation of bibliographies on, and later of ever-expanding directories of, American foundations. When the time came to revise the 1938 issue of the directory, it seemed to us that a publication which, in addition to listing and describing foundations, would discuss in brief form something of their history, organization, resources, fields of activity, and general trends might be useful to foundation executives and boards, and of interest to the general public. The present volume is the result.

In addition to the general text, it contains a Descriptive Directory of 505 foundations and is supplemented by classified and geographical listings and a bibliography. In our effort to make the Directory as complete

as possible we have had the generous assistance of a number of organizations and persons, to whom specific acknowledgment is made in Appendix A, Method of the Study.

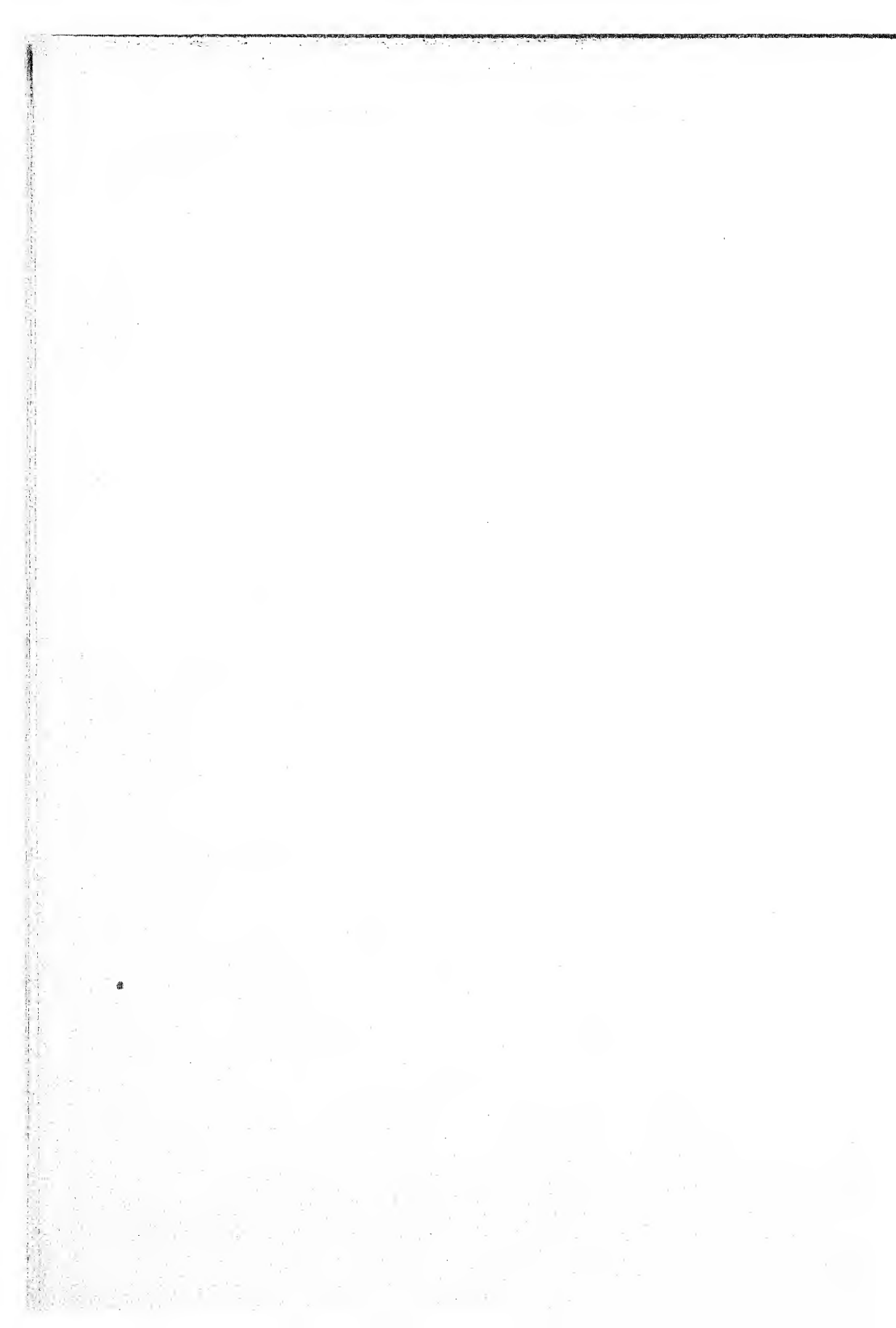
We wish also to express our thanks to the authors and publishers of many books, reports, and articles which are cited within the text; and to the several hundred foundation executives who made this study possible by supplying general and financial information concerning their own organizations.

The text of the book is the co-operative product of both authors. We discovered no substantial disagreement. Where value judgments varied slightly, an effort has been made to present both points of view.

S.M.H. AND F.E.A.

February 1, 1946

PART I
FOUNDATIONS IN AMERICA



[1]

THE RISE OF FOUNDATIONS

THE FOUNDATION in its broadest sense may be defined as an instrument for the contribution of private wealth to public purpose. As such it is older than recorded history, and includes many types of organizations besides those we ordinarily think of as philanthropic foundations or funds. This study is limited to the foundation in the American understanding of the term, meaning a non-governmental, non-profit organization having a principal fund of its own, established to maintain or aid social, educational, charitable, or other activities serving the common welfare.

In this more restricted sense the foundation is largely an American social invention, and its chief growth has occurred within the United States during the twentieth century. To understand this very modern and still developing institution, however, it may be well to glance briefly at some of its predecessors.

GREEK AND ROMAN FORERUNNERS

Perhaps the earliest examples of foundations, in the broad interpretation of the term, are the provisions made by individuals or groups in nearly all ancient civilizations for recurring sacrificial feasts in honor of a god, hero, ancestor, or possibly of a donor himself. In such festivals the animals and other foods brought to the sacrifice and dedicated to the one to be venerated were often eaten by the celebrants, thus achieving identification of the celebrant with the object of his veneration — not unlike the mystical unity of the family which was conceived of as reaching far back from the living to the ancestor and forward from the living to the descendants. Sir Henry Maine reminds us that the family, in fact, was a corporation and that it never died.

Xenophon left an example of a "foundation" for the purpose of honoring a deity and of bestowing benefits upon his fellow-citizens in something like perpetuity. He dedicated land and built a temple to Artemis in Scillus. Each year all citizens and neighbors, men and women, took part in a festival in her honor, receiving "barley meal and loaves of bread, wine and sweetmeats, and a portion of the sacrificial victims from the sacred herd as well as the victims taken in the chase."¹ Such an institution has its modern, and dubious, social counterpart in the free Thanksgiving dinner for the poor, and the Christmas basket; they afford the donor a great deal of self-satisfaction, give the needy person a day's food, but do nothing toward solving his basic problem.

An example of another type of foundation, and one of the precursors of our endowed educational institutions, was Plato's famous Academy near Athens, which derived its name from the Attic hero Academus, to whom traditionally the land belonged. Cimon, the celebrated Athenian commander, son of Miltiades, had during his lifetime thrown open his lands for the enjoyment of the people and had beautified the site of the Academy.² Plato later used these gardens for his discourses, establishing here the school which became known as Plato's Academy. Before his death in 347 B.C. he directed that the natural income of his own adjacent fields should be used for the perpetual support of his school. It survived nearly 900 years, being finally suppressed by the Christian Emperor Justinian in A.D. 529, for teaching "pagan" doctrines.

Plato's Academy illustrates two of the difficulties under which such early benefactions labored. In the first place, income could not be derived from stocks and bonds, these not having been invented. The portfolios of early foundations frequently consisted of productive land and cattle. In the second place, the testamentary powers of the individual were still fettered by the early conception of the family as an entity in perpetuity, to which must descend the whole body of property and also of debts of the family's recognized head. Only gradually was a man to become able to alienate his property, at least in part, from communal family participation in accordance with this ancient code.

A freer concept, however, was long in evolving. Plato's best expedient was to avail himself of the law permitting a living donor to make a gift to a living recipient, with such instructions as might be possible regard-

¹ *Anabasis*, Book 5, 3:9.

² *Plutarch's Lives*: Cimon.

ing its future use. In pursuance of this aim he gave his property outright to his nephew, Speusippus, directing that he use it for the purpose intended, and that he in turn pass it on to another individual with the same stipulation. Xenophon invited perpetuity by another means: he erected a column describing the terms of his foundation, and adding, "If any man fail in aught of this, the goddess herself will look to the matter."

The Roman citizen was released by slow degrees from the old laws of succession. The concept of a legal heir as opposed to a natural heir came finally to be accepted and was expanded to include groups of living persons who as such were permitted to receive gifts in perpetuity. The "corporate personality in form and substance was a thoroughly Roman concept,"¹ and of unknown antiquity. It was familiar in the municipal corporations and smaller community groups and in private groupings such as the craft guilds and burial associations. As early as 150 B.C. Roman law declared such associations to be "immutable undying persons," and their legal status was the same as that of a natural heir save the right to receive bequests.²

Little, if any, control over the organization of associations was exerted under the Republic, but licensing became obligatory in the second century A.D. when their great accumulation and political use of property made control by the state inevitable. By this time some associations had begun in a measure to take on the philanthropic character of their modern counterparts. In the article on the philanthropic foundation just mentioned, Hollis has said:

During the reign of the five good emperors, 96-180 A.D., foundations were greatly encouraged throughout the Roman Empire. Nerva gave the cities the right to accept foundation funds by bequest, Trajan extended the privilege to the towns, Hadrian included the villages, and Marcus Aurelius permitted the associations (private groups) to receive bequests. In this period, the objectives of foundations began to shift from honoring the gods and the dead, preserving the cult, and perpetuating a feast day to at least a palliative ministering to the needs of underprivileged groups. Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius gave generously of their private wealth for establishing in the municipalities foundations for *alimentarii*, that is,

¹ Radin, Max, Handbook of Roman Law. West Publishing Co., St. Paul, Minn., 1927, p. 226. Hornbook Series.

² Hollis, Ernest V., "Evolution of the Philanthropic Foundation," in The Educational Record, October, 1939, p. 577.

foundations to aid in the feeding, clothing, and educating needy legitimate children.¹

When the Roman Empire faced the critical problems of later centuries, its rulers found it convenient to confiscate these funds. Most of the municipal foundations vanished in this way and incentive was destroyed for further establishment of such endowments.

Emperor Constantine revived the interest in philanthropic bequests by decreeing that funds of the Christian church could not be confiscated by any outside agency, nor used even within the church for any other purposes than those named by the donor. Having chosen to make Christianity the ally of the state, he not only strengthened the legal position of the church by giving to bishops the power to hear lay cases when litigants so desired, but re-enforced its prestige and its power by making the church the distributor of state contributions to the poor and disadvantaged.

From this early period began the rise of ecclesiastical foundations, which continued through the Middle Ages as almost the sole agency of philanthropy. They have their modern counterparts in endowed church schools, colleges, institutions for the care of children, the numerous funds for missions at home and abroad, for the education and retirement of ministers, for hospitals, the care of the poor of the parish, and many other church-centered activities. Particularly in the early days of ecclesiastical foundations, inducements toward setting up such foundations, or contributing to them, were not only the worth of the work proposed, but merit toward the salvation of the donor's soul.

ENGLISH EXAMPLES

When the national states began to grow powerful in Europe, the great wealth of ecclesiastical foundations was one of the causes of the long struggle between church and state. In England, by the time of Henry VIII, it has been estimated that these foundations possessed from a third to a half of the wealth of the whole kingdom. Much of this wealth rested in lands claimed by the church as part of that church treasure which Constantine in his time had decreed could not be confiscated by outside

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 577-578.

agencies. Families of the nobility resented the severance of their properties by gift or sale to the church, and the boroughs in which the mercantile classes were rising to power resented the impoverishment of their incomes by the transfer of land to non-taxable ownership. Until the time of Henry VIII land in England could not be legally transferred by will, and even then not to a corporation.

Conflicting interests such as these represent two opposing views of the function of land in the development of society — the one conceiving it as something static, which could be concentrated, presumably without loss to society, in the dead hand; the other concerned with its dynamic quality in the service of changing owners. In Roman times the church, in order to obtain titles, had approved the right of the donor or seller to dispose freely of his property, and so had aided in the movement to release lands from the grip of family ownership. In the English period the church became the agency through which a much more rigid control by mortmain was exerted.

The concept of the association as a legal entity and an "artificial person" was taken over by England and the Continent in great part from Roman law. It permitted the anomaly of friars pledged to poverty but owning vast landed estates. When Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries, thus asserting the supremacy of the state over the church, he distributed their revenues to court favorites, sometimes with the pretense of continuing the same charity under new auspices. But his policy served to create a new landed aristocracy, who did very little to relieve the acute distresses of the poor. The disestablishment was of importance in the development of the modern concept of a philanthropic foundation because foundations then became licensed by the state and later were declared capable of holding property in perpetuity, and even of receiving bequests of land, but only for the public good.

The next wave of philanthropy sprang neither from the church nor from the state and its aristocracy; it came from the rising middle class. Individual contributions from this source were usually not large, but were pooled into substantial funds, much after the pattern of community trusts today. An act which was passed under Queen Elizabeth in 1601 became the legislative cornerstone for the creation, control, and protection of such funds in England, and is still widely quoted in American legislation. Commonly called the Statute of Charitable Uses (43

Elizabeth, cap. 4), its preamble is worth noting for the variety of charitable purposes which it mentions as being appropriate for funds under this act:

Some for relief of aged, impotent and poor people, some for maintenance of sick and maimed soldiers and mariners, schools of learning, free schools, and scholars in universities, some for repair of bridges, ports, havens, causeways, churches, sea-banks and highways, some for education and preferment of orphans, some for or towards relief, stock or maintenance for houses of correction, some for marriages of poor maids, some for supportation, aid and help of young tradesmen, handicraftsmen and persons decayed, and others for relief or redemption of prisoners or captives, and for aid or ease of any poor inhabitants concerning payments of . . . taxes.¹

In the course of several centuries, vast numbers of foundations sprang up under authorization of Act 43 Elizabeth. They were more nearly relief societies than research and educational foundations of the modern type, but many of them were established in perpetuity. Cases in which the narrow purposes of the donors could no longer be carried out, and cases of abuses in administration, became so numerous that in 1837 a Royal Commission of Inquiry reported on 28,840 "foundations" then in existence, and made many recommendations, which became recognized in British law and were in some instances carried over into American legal practice. In extreme cases of unsuitability, the doctrine of *cy pres* (as near as practicable), which developed under Roman law, was applied in England, and still is in America, permitting the courts to extend the terms of a perpetuity to another cause as near as possible to that originally specified.² This practice of the courts the Commission did not find to be adequate, and on its recommendation Parliament established a regulatory commission having "the duty of superintendence and control of all property devoted to charitable uses, with an accounting and power to summon all parties concerned in management, to appoint and remove trustees, and to take care that no sale, mortgage, or exchange of charity property be effected without concurrence, and that all funds applicable be invested upon real or government security. . . ."³

¹ Pickering, Danby, *The Statutes at Large, from the Thirty-ninth of Q. Elizabeth, to the Twelfth of K. Charles II inclusive*. Printed at Cambridge University, 1763, vol. 7, p. 43.

² Blackwell, Thomas E., "The Charitable Corporation and the Charitable Trust," in *Washington Law Quarterly*, December, 1938, pp. 7-30.

³ Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. 584.

EARLY AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS

Colonial America developed few large fortunes, but the independent and largely agricultural life of the people resulted in relatively few cases of severe want. The palliative charity funds of imperial Rome and Tudor England found little place. The first notable funds of this sort in America were established at his death in 1790 by Benjamin Franklin in the cities of Boston and Philadelphia, to assist "young married artificers of good character," each of whom might be lent three hundred dollars at 5 per cent. The funds were later to be used for specified civic improvements.¹

Claims are sometimes advanced for the Magdalen Society of Philadelphia as the first American foundation. This Society was established as a perpetual trust in 1800 "to ameliorate the distressed condition of those unhappy females who have been seduced from the paths of virtue, and are desirous of returning to a life of rectitude."² In 1918 the Society was reorganized into the White-Williams Foundation, its by-laws now permitting the "progressive solution of problems which affect the immediate or ultimate interests of children and youth of school age." In its earlier incorporation it seems clearly to have been a relief-giving society not falling within our narrower definition of the modern foundation.

Closer to the modern conception was the Smithsonian Institution, which owes its origin to a bequest to the United States of America of \$508,000, later increased, from James Smithson, an English scientist, "to found at Washington, under the name of the Smithsonian Institution, an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." It was established by Act of Congress in 1846 as the result of the tireless efforts of John Quincy Adams. The Smithsonian is unique among organizations of its type in being the direct ward of the government. Its funds are deposited partly in the United States Treasury, at perpetual interest of 6 per cent guaranteed. It is governed by a board of regents composed of the Vice-President and Chief Justice of the United States, three senators appointed by the president of the Senate, three members by the speaker of the House, and six citizen-regents appointed by Congress, two of whom must be residents of the District of Columbia and the other four residents of four different states. It has made major contribu-

¹ For fuller account of the Franklin funds, see pp. 66-67.

² Report of the Managers of the Magdalen Society for 1854, p. 3.

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¹ For fuller account of the Franklin funds, see pp. 66-67.

² Report of the Managers of the Magdalen Society for 1854, p. 3.

tions to scientific research, has developed the United States National Museum, and maintains many other branches, including the Bureau of American Ethnology, the Astrophysical Observatory, the National Zoological Park, and the National Collection of Fine Arts. It is scarcely a private foundation, however, in quite the sense in which that term is applied in this study.

The first American foundation which satisfies our definition was the Peabody Education Fund, set up in 1867 by George Peabody with a principal sum of over \$2,000,000, and devoting itself chiefly to the advancement of education in the South. Then came the John F. Slater Fund in 1882, and the Baron de Hirsch Fund for the aid of Jewish immigrants in 1890. These were the only important foundations of the sort we are considering to be established in the United States during the nineteenth century. The host of such organizations which exist today are principally products of the twentieth century, and of social attitudes and an economic situation which were just making themselves felt at the birth of the century.

THE FOUNDATION IDEA

The very numerous early "foundations" which flourished by the thousand in Rome, in England, and elsewhere in Europe were, with interesting exceptions, relief-giving societies, distributing food, clothing, schooling, and shelter for orphans. The donors might be the rulers, the state itself, the church, wealthy individuals, or groups of citizens. Motives of the donors were doubtless various, ranging from intention to discourage insurrection (*panem et circenses*), through solicitude for salvation of the donor's soul, to a genuine concern for the plight of the poor. Most of these endowments were established in perpetuity, but in general they have not survived a long test in history. The problems they were designed to meet, however, have vigorously survived. Indeed, it began to be suspected before the middle of the last century that the method of attack upon these problems was fundamentally wrong, and might in many cases be merely aggravating the difficulty. The commissioners who had been appointed to report to William IV on administration of the Poor Laws in England, had this to say in 1834 regarding "the relief provided by charitable foundations":

Much evidence . . . has forced on us the conviction that, as now administered, such charities are often wasted, and often mischievous. . . . In some cases they have a quality of evil peculiar to themselves. . . . The places intended to be favoured by large charities attract an undue proportion of the poorer classes, who, in the hope of trifling benefits to be obtained without labour, often linger on in spots most unfavourable to the exercise of their industry. Poverty is thus not only collected, but created, in the very neighbourhood whence the benevolent founders have manifestly expected to make it disappear.¹

In America, the great strides of science in the latter half of the nineteenth century were preparing the soil for a growth of the foundation idea along different lines. First, scientific research in the physical and natural sciences gained tremendous prestige from its accomplishments, especially in industry, and it was inevitable that its methods should be applied to social problems. Second, rapid expansion of industry, made possible by science and the machine, coupled with large-scale business organization and finance, created a number of private fortunes of a size probably unknown in previous history.

The possessor of one of these fortunes was Andrew Carnegie, born in Scotland, but an early immigrant to America. By the time he was thirty-three and was receiving an income of \$50,000 a year he made a memorandum, found after his death, in which he pledged himself to devote his annual surplus wealth to benevolent purposes.² He continued to acquire that surplus wealth at an amazing rate, until 1901, when he sold the Carnegie Company to the newly formed United States Steel Corporation for approximately half a billion dollars. Somewhat earlier he had expressed what came to be known as his "gospel of wealth."³ "The millionaire," he said, "will be but a trustee for the poor, intrusted for a season with a great part of the increased wealth of the community, but administering it for the community far better than it could or would have done for itself. . . . The man who dies thus rich dies disgraced." He had no intention of falling into the old error of distributing his wealth to re-

¹ Report from His Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws. Published by Authority, B. Fellowes, London, 1834, p. 361.

² Hendrick, Burton J., *The Life of Andrew Carnegie*. Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., New York, 1932, vol. I, p. 147.

³ Published as a separate paper in 1889 in *North American Review* under the title "Wealth." Later published as *The Gospel of Wealth, and Other Timely Essays*. Doubleday, Page and Co., New York, 1906.

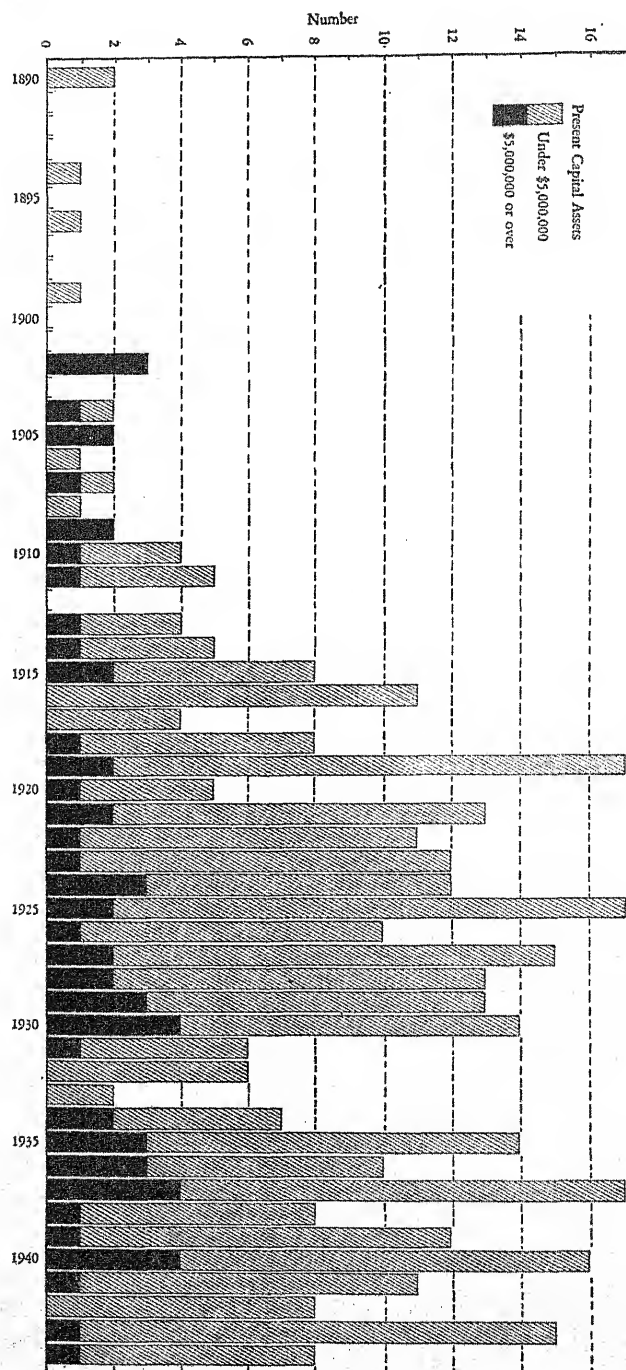


CHART I. 359 FOUNDATIONS, BY DATE OF ORGANIZATION

lieve individual need, unrelated to any plan for helping the individual to better himself. "The best means," he said, "of benefiting the community is to place within its reach the ladders upon which the aspiring can rise."

Neither Carnegie's idea of trusteeship of wealth nor his proposals to use it "to place ladders" for self-advancement instead of as simple "relief," were actually new. The preventive and constructive administration of the Peabody Education Fund had inspired Elbert Hubbard to write, with some extravagance, "George Peabody was the world's first philanthropist," and he added that "up to this time philanthropy was palliative; now it seeks to lay hold on the age to come."¹ But the Pittsburgh steelmaster, turned philanthropist, was a dramatic figure on the world stage, and he had the ear of the wealthy men of his time. When at the turn of the century he retired from making money to the harder task of distributing it wisely, he established patterns which soon were widely followed.

Some of Carnegie's earlier gifts were to specific communities, as for example, his several thousand library buildings.² But such "retail" giving was not enough. In 1902 he established his first important foundation, the Carnegie Institution of Washington, "to encourage, in the broadest and most liberal manner, investigation, research, and discovery, and the application of knowledge to the improvement of mankind." In the same year came the General Education Board, a Rockefeller benefaction of which Mr. Carnegie was an active trustee.

Names which were to become well known in the history of foundations followed rapidly. The Milbank Memorial Fund and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching were established in 1905; the Russell Sage Foundation in 1907; the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation and the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund in 1908; the New York Foundation in 1909; the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 1910; the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Phelps-Stokes Fund in 1911; and thereafter incorporations far too numerous for separate mention, including the largest of the early endowments, the Rockefeller Foundation, in 1913.

¹ Quoted in *Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education* by Ernest V. Hollis, Columbia University Press, New York, 1938, p. 32.

² By the time of his death in 1919, the total was 2,811 library buildings at a cost of \$60,364,809. *A Manual of the Public Benefactions of Andrew Carnegie, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, 1919, pp. 297, 311.*

This procession of modern foundations has grown longer and more impressive. Our Descriptive Directory,¹ from data compiled in January, 1945, lists 505 foundations and community trusts, though concerning some of these only inadequate information is available. The year of origin for 359 of these foundations is plotted in Chart I, with some differentiation in respect to size. This chart, however, must not be taken as a precise record of annual trends in the establishing of foundations. It does not include the foundations which have been dissolved, nor a large number for which no information as to date of origin is available; it probably represents inadequately foundations organized since 1943; it includes a number of organizations which do not completely meet a strict definition of the foundation. Nevertheless, the chart makes vivid the tremendous growth of this new instrument of American philanthropy within the last three decades.

The growth of American foundations has not been accompanied by universal applause. The cry of "tainted money" was one of the earliest accusations. It was alleged that little good could be done society by the application to its needs of profits which, said the critics, ought in the first place to have been distributed as more adequate wages. Another complaint was that the founders would use these establishments to resist social change and to support their own economic views and practices. Demands for strict controls were many and extreme. Much of the criticism crystallized in the hearings before the United States Industrial Relations Commission which resulted in the Manly report, published in 1916.² It severely censured many aspects of foundations and would have been content to "recommend abolition" of foundations if they could be separated from other forms of voluntary altruistic effort. There were, however, minority reports that were different in tone.

Samuel Untermyer, testifying before this Commission, was critical of foundation organization and legal structure. He proposed limitations on size and duration, organization under federal law only, government representation on the board of trustees, and a prohibition against accumulation of income. Nevertheless, he said:

¹ See Chapter 7 and also Appendix A, Method of the Study.

² Industrial Relations: Final Report and Testimony Submitted to Congress by the Commission on Industrial Relations created by the Act of Congress of August 23, 1912. Senate Document No. 415, 64th Congress, 1st Session. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1916.

I do not share the fear and distrust of these foundations. I believe them to be prompted by the highest ideals of patriotism and unselfish public spirit. They are magnificently managed by the best intellect of the country—far better than would be possible with any public institution. . . . They are doing incalculable public good and no harm. Happily, their conduct does not to any appreciable extent reflect the devious methods by which those fortunes were accumulated, nor the views or policies of their founders on economic questions.¹

This investigation and these comments were made in 1915, when the foundation in America was still in its infancy. Many of the fears then expressed have proved unfounded; some of the constructive suggestions then made have been adopted, others are still worthy of consideration. Mr. Untermeyer's comments on the independence and constructive direction of foundation policies would be in accord with the judgment of most students today. But it is not the purpose of this brief book to present a history of American foundations, to evaluate results, or even to attempt the long catalogue of their achievements. Much information of assistance in considering these questions is available in the reports of the individual foundations, and in other sources listed in the Bibliography.

One further note, however, on the motives and underlying purposes of the founders seems appropriate. Undoubtedly motives varied, and they are not easy to assign with assurance. A few founders may have been willing to thwart hopeful or aggressive relatives, or to avoid taxes, or to attempt the perpetuation of their own names. It is alleged that one founder, who tied up the investments of his charitable offering with a business enterprise he controlled, hoped thereby to protect that enterprise from attack. Unalloyed motives of simple and genuine human charity animated some; others may have had one eye on personal credit, in this world or in the next.

But no one who has examined closely the beginnings of many modern foundations is likely to escape one conclusion: most of the founders were seized by a social vision which stirred them deeply, and which was in many instances a modern expression of religious feeling. As merely one illustrative example, we quote a passage from a forthcoming history of the Russell Sage Foundation, describing its first meeting:

On April 19, 1907, the incorporators met in the home of Mrs. Sage, a "brown-stone front" opposite St. Patrick's Cathedral, about on the spot

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 7430.

where the great bronze Atlas now stands in Rockefeller Center. Mrs. Sage opened the meeting with a prayer which brought tears to the eyes of all present, and presided with characteristic dignity.

"I am nearly eighty years old," said Mrs. Sage at the close of the meeting, "and I feel as if I were just beginning to live." Her associates were hardly less affected. Although they had had long experience in large enterprises for the social welfare, this new venture opened before them a vista of unimagined possibilities.

Fervent social vision on the part of the founder, though it may precipitate problems, has been the most important motive force in the early achievement of many foundations. In perpetuities and long-term endowments the social intention of the founder may become obscured or may need to be adjusted to an altered world. How can such foundations keep their vitality of spirit and continually adjust to the changing needs of their times? To suggest possible answers to these questions is a central concern of the chapters that follow.

[2]

TYPES OF FOUNDATIONS

THE GENERAL confusion in the public mind as to what foundations are and do is the result, not merely of the complex nature and rapid growth of foundations themselves, but of the assumption of the titles "foundation," "fund," and "endowment" by many organizations which have little claim to them. This chapter attempts to sort out those organizations which are clearly beyond the foundation pale though they may assume the name, the marginal group which have some but not all the characteristics of true foundations, and the main types of the true foundations with which this study is concerned.

Great variety exists, even among foundations which come within the narrowest definition. This is proper and desirable, especially in the present stage of rapid development and experiment. When president of the Carnegie Corporation, the late Frederick P. Keppel declared that "The ultimate basis of the utility of the foundation as an instrument of progress will probably rest upon this very diversity."¹

FOUNDATIONS IN NAME ONLY

The most deplorable use of the term "foundation" has been made by a variety of organizations which employed it to inspire public confidence in questionable enterprises. One organization taking the name "foundation," which sponsored a wartime canteen, had its charter revoked in 1942 by New York Supreme Court Justice William T. Collins, who called it "avarice masquerading as patriotism." Another project using "foundation" in its title, both in its original form and later when it took a new name, pleaded guilty to charges of fraud in the sale of investments.

¹ The Foundation. Macmillan Co., New York, 1930, p. 12.

In other instances, the question is not integrity but propriety. Some "foundations" are simply insurance schemes, as for example the Thrift Foundation, organized to sell as a unit a combination of savings account, indemnity policy, and term life insurance.

A publishing enterprise, collecting advance subscriptions for a set of books or even a single book, may call itself a foundation. The Encyclopedia Press, which published the Catholic Encyclopedia, organized the Universal Knowledge Foundation as part of a larger subscription plan. Parenthetically, it may be noted that publishing has sometimes reversed this process, devoting publishing profits to establishment of a foundation, often admirable in character but usually of limited purpose. Thus, Wendell Willkie established his One World Fund from the royalties built up by his phenomenal best seller. Irving Berlin established the God Bless America Fund, which contributes to Boy Scout and similar projects, from proceeds of his song of that name. Harper and Brothers have set funds aside for the Eugene F. Saxton Memorial Trust to aid creative writers not yet recognized.

Other "foundations" are more properly described as soliciting agencies. They make no grants, and have no capital funds. Frequently their solicitations bring in less than is needed for running expenses, with no possibility of accumulating an endowment. A few organizations, such as the American Foundation for the Blind and the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, derive income from substantial endowments as well as solicitations, and are therefore included in this study.

MARGINAL TYPES

Associations and Agencies

Many of the associations and agencies operating in the general field of social welfare rather closely approach true foundations in aims and methods. Their accent is more likely to be service in a particular field than the activities ordinarily characteristic of foundations, but they often do conduct some research or promote it through scholarships, prizes, and publications. Most of them derive their chief support from annual membership fees and current contributions, but some are the beneficiaries of foundation grants and others have substantial endowments of their own, built up from bequests and other sources.

Except for this reference and for the few associations which have pro-

nounced foundation characteristics, such groups are not included in this study. They are, however, a social resource of considerable importance, and far more numerous than most persons realize. The 1945 Social Work Year Book¹ lists 402 national voluntary organizations in the general field of social welfare, of which about two-thirds are membership associations.

Foundations in Colleges

Many organizations which call themselves foundations do not have a separate corporate existence, but are set up for special purposes within colleges and universities. Some of these are simply endowment funds for the college or university itself, or even funds raised annually for current expenditure. A considerable number are student-aid or scholarship funds, limited to students of the particular college to which the gift or bequest was made.

A large number of college foundations are memorial bequests establishing a chair in a particular field, a lectureship, a library collection, a special department, or a research project. For example, the Frank B. Kellogg Foundation for Education in International Relations was established by the former secretary of state at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, with a principal sum reported at \$500,000. It was intended to support two regular teachers in the field of international relations and one half-time professor from a foreign country.

An interesting variant is the research foundation associated with a university which may function as a semidetached trust, and from its own operations accumulate funds for university use. Examples of these are the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation, the Purdue Research Foundation. At the University of Wisconsin, 85 per cent of the proceeds from patents goes to the Alumni Research Foundation. Such income may be very substantial, as in the case of the three patents on irradiation methods of producing vitamin D which are reported to have netted the Wisconsin foundation more than \$7,500,000.

Alumni funds collected annually from graduates have been given the foundation name in some colleges and universities. In some instances the amounts collected each year exceed \$100,000 and are coming to be regarded as income almost as dependable as that received from endow-

¹ Kurtz, Russell H. (Editor), *Social Work Year Book*, 1945. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1945, pp. 515-584.

ments. The contributor often is permitted to designate a particular school, discipline, or research project.

Because college foundations of these various types are usually integrally connected with a single college or university, they are beyond the scope of this study; but their large number and their importance in the field of education should be noticed.

Foundations in Business and Industry

Within business and industry are a considerable group of organizations approaching the foundation type or assuming the foundation name. Many of these are set up to perform research for a particular industry or trade association. The James F. Lincoln Arc Welding Foundation conducts research in arc welding. The Statler Foundation was established by Ellsworth M. Statler for research for the benefit of the hotel industry in construction and operation of hotels and in training hotel workers.

Others are for the benefit of employees, usually in a particular firm but sometimes in a whole industry. The Bausch and Lomb Foundation assists such employees of the Bausch and Lomb Optical Company and their families as the directors may deem deserving and in need of financial aid. The John Edgar Thomson Foundation is a special trust established in 1882 to be applied to the education and maintenance of the daughters of deceased railroad employees, with preference in the following order: first, the daughters of men killed in the performance of their duties while working for the Pennsylvania Railroad; next, the Georgia Railroad; then, affiliated lines of the Pennsylvania system; and finally, any railroad within the United States. The Altman Foundation was established to promote the social, physical, or economic welfare and efficiency of the employees of B. Altman and Company (New York department store), but also "to aid charitable, benevolent or educational institutions within the state of New York." Of a somewhat different type is the Edward M. Morgan Foundation of the New York Post Office, established by the employees themselves to provide ward bed service for New York postal employees.

Some organizations which conduct research for commercial profit call themselves foundations, as do others which are little more than pressure groups for special interests, donning the foundation mantle of implied impartiality. News reports on the establishment of the Hat Research

Foundation included the interesting note: "Industry spokesmen have voiced their alarm as to the probabilities of an expanded 'hatless' vogue . . . and it is believed that work of the new group will include promotional efforts to guard against such an eventuality."¹

No discussion of business foundations would be complete without mention of the Chemical Foundation, though it necessarily falls outside our list of foundations for social welfare. This Foundation was organized to take over the immensely valuable chemical patents of German firms during World War I, which it continues to administer, and for which it appears to have paid only \$269,850.²

Family Foundations

Within recent years a very large number of foundations have sprung up which are usually called family foundations. Typically, they are established by a living person or persons rather than by bequest. They are legal corporations, frequently with no office other than that of the law firm which established them. Some are convenient and well-established corporate channels for systematizing individual and family giving. Others preserve such complete silence on contributions or operations of any sort that questions may be raised as to whether they have the requisite public service characteristics to warrant their enjoying the legal benefits accorded foundations — a subject elsewhere discussed.³ Since such foundations may be established without publicity, under a wide variety of names, in any of the states, and with usually no classified reporting service even in the state concerned, no complete list can be obtained. The directory section of this book includes such names as were available, even where further information was not supplied.

Gifts for Highly Restricted Purposes

Charters of some foundations confine their activities to very narrow and specified fields, although in other respects they may conform to the foundation idea. Restricted gifts have provided some special services of undoubted present usefulness, and some "services" the need for which has never existed or has long been outgrown. Gifts of this nature have

¹ New York Times, July 12, 1944.

² Coon, Horace, Money to Burn. Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1938, p. 216.

³ See pp. 73-74.

also afforded the basis for some public misunderstanding, and sometimes humor, with regard to foundations.

An early example of a perpetuity, though scarcely a true foundation, is the famous bequest of Thomas Nash:

I do also hereby give and bequeath to the mayor, senior alderman, and town-clerk of Bath . . . the sum of 50 pounds per annum, in trust, payable of the Bank Long Annuities, standing in my name at the Bank of England, for the use, benefit, and enjoyment of the set of ringers belonging to Abbey Church, Bath, on condition of their ringing on the whole peal of bells, with clappers muffled, various solemn and doleful changes, allowing proper intervals for rest and refreshment, from eight o'clock in the morning until eight o'clock in the evening, on the 14th of May in every year, being the anniversary of my wedding-day; and also on every anniversary of the day of my decease to ring a grand bob major and merry mirthful peals, unmuffled . . . in joyful commemoration of my happy release from domestic tyranny and wretchedness.¹

The Samuel and Henriette Hecht Foundation to Furnish Free Coal to the Poor, established in Philadelphia, may have to revise its name should coal cease to be used as a fuel.

The Chappel Kennel Foundation "will have for its main objective the advancing of the welfare of the dog through better breeding, better feeding and more humane care. . . . One of the early projects will be a study of the problem of keeping dogs in city apartments." This foundation is now reported abandoned.

The Henry G. Freeman Pin Money Fund, which has not yet come before the courts for approval since the money is still tied up in a life estate, would supply an annuity of about \$12,000 to the wives of presidents of the United States "so long as this glorious government lasts." (With a similar concern for our chief executives Andrew Carnegie gave annuities to several former presidents or their widows.)

The so-called "covered wagon" fund established in St. Louis by Bryan Mullanphy in 1851 "to furnish relief to all poor emigrants and travelers coming to St. Louis on their way, bona fide, to settle in the West" ran out of emigrant customers and was finally transferred by the courts by *cy pres* proceedings to the general purposes of Travelers Aid in St. Louis.

¹ Hobhouse, Sir Arthur, *The Dead Hand: Addresses on the Subject of Endowments and Settlements of Property*. Chatto and Windus, London, 1880, p. 102.

The Samuel G. Davis Fund established in Mashpee, Massachusetts, in 1930 to reward Mashpee students for "good, kind manners" was petitioning the courts in 1938 for permission to use the income for school construction since the town officials "can't find enough mannerly boys to reward."¹

The Ida Brown Foundation, set up to emphasize family solidarity, was reported to meet twice monthly in a hall to accommodate Ida Brown's 79 family members; it may also support needy families in Kansas City and abroad.

The unwisdom in many instances of restricting foundations to very narrow and specific fields—at least in perpetuity—would seem to be obvious.

Another group of foundations is free to operate within a single broad area. Some of these which fall outside this study have been mentioned in earlier sections of this chapter. Others will be discussed in Chapter 5, Fields of Activity. They include foundations limited to scholarships and prizes, foundations in the field of international relations, those devoted to a special class of the population (for example, children) or particular fields of inquiry.

COMMUNITY TRUSTS

Community trusts constitute a special class of foundations concerned with problems of social welfare but acting under community control in a sense that is seldom found in the usual philanthropic endowment.

In practically all such trusts, capital gifts or bequests are received and administered as to principal through the trust departments of qualified local banks and trust companies. The income is distributed, together with such portions of the principal as may be authorized in any trust, under supervision and control of a distribution committee of citizens selected for representative character and knowledge of charitable affairs. An important provision is the reservation of power to the distribution committee to transfer to other purposes any funds which can no longer be effectively used for the ends originally designated, thereby avoiding the dangers of rigid perpetuities.

¹ New York Herald Tribune, March 6, 1938.

Community trusts are already important, numerically and in resources, and promise to become more so. The idea originated with Frederick H. Goff of the Cleveland Trust Company, and took physical shape in the Cleveland Foundation established in January, 1914. The character of the work done by foundations, and particularly the Rockefeller Foundation, had impressed Mr. Goff with the probability "that better results and greater efficiency could be secured if the management and control of the property dedicated to charitable use in each community could be centralized in one or at most a few governing bodies."¹ So high a degree of centralization has not occurred and does not seem probable, but the idea of a central fund in each large community for receipt, custody, and distribution of smaller bequests was a useful one which has grown into about 74 functioning community trusts with resources approximating 67 million dollars. Most such community trusts are organized within a single city, a few bear the name of a county, and several are statewide. Their funds may often be used more widely than their names would suggest.

The trust companies which manage the capital funds supply experienced financial judgment. Because they also have a selfish interest in the commission or fee² from management of trust funds, community trusts are assured active proponents in the spreading of the movement.

Members of distribution committees are unpaid, and in most community foundations their selection is so arranged by constitutional provision that they represent a wide variety of interests. For example, the Resolution and Declaration of Trust of the New Haven Foundation provides that its distribution committee shall consist of seven members each appointed for seven years, no more than two of whom may belong to the same religious sect or denomination, and none of whom may hold a salaried public office. One member is appointed by the chief executive of the city of New Haven; one by the president or other executive officer of the chamber of commerce; one by the chief judge of the probate court; one by the president of Yale University; one by the president of the county bar association; two by the trustees' committee.

¹ Address of September 30, 1919, before the Trust Company Section of the American Bankers Association.

² Maximum rates differ with the jurisdiction and the size of the trust. At present in New York State the annual commission on a sum of \$250,000 yielding \$7,500 would be \$598.50 — approximately a quarter of 1 per cent of the principal, or 8 per cent of the income. Rates are higher on smaller sums, decrease as the principal grows larger.

Policies of distribution committees differ, but the funds of local foundations of the community trust type go more largely to relieving individual need or the work of rehabilitating individuals than to broad social research, as might be expected from their local character and the expressed wishes of many of the donors. However, research does enter into many programs. The Cleveland Foundation in its early years financed the extensive Cleveland Surveys in the fields of education, recreation, and crime; the Buffalo Foundation continuously maintains a Bureau of Studies and Social Statistics. The Committee of the Permanent Charity Fund (Boston) classified the uses of its 1943-1944 fiscal year appropriations into the following categories:

	Per Cent
Education	8.6
Sickness	31.7
Social welfare	58.3
Old age	0.3
From income of special funds	1.1
Total	100.0

Resources of community trusts cannot be simply stated. Some outright gifts are received, but bequests are the chief source of capital funds. Some of these have been received and are fully available. Others have been received, but the income has been willed to living relatives with the community trust as residuary legatee. And finally, bequests known to be written into the wills of living persons are only potential, and cannot be estimated.

Bequests may vary from very small sums into the millions. Most of the funds bear the name of the donor, and since the community trust makes its contribution in the name of the particular fund, the illusion of a multitude of separate foundations is sometimes created. The New York Community Trust, for example, lists 76 separate funds, several of which are called foundations, varying in size from one fund of \$175 to four of more than a million dollars. The known funds of more than one million dollars within community trusts are these:

James Longley Estate (Permanent Charity Fund, Boston) \$4,238,080
 H. K. S. Williams Trust I (New York Community Trust) \$3,112,088
 Harry Coulby Fund (Cleveland Foundation) \$3,005,830

Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial¹ (New York Community Trust) \$2,500,000
 Lucy Wortham James Memorial² (New York Community Trust) \$1,822,202
 George Firmenich Fund (Chicago Community Trust) \$1,515,232
 George H. Boyd Fund (Cleveland Foundation) \$1,420,750
 James E. Roberts Gift (Indianapolis Foundation) \$1,175,000
 Henry B. Lusch Fund (Chicago Community Trust) \$1,019,705
 H. K. S. Williams Trust II (New York Community Trust) \$1,004,056
 James A. Patten and Amanda Louisa Patten Fund (Chicago Community Trust) \$1,000,001

Where funds are not large enough to be handled economically as separate items, community trusts are setting up pools for their receipt, called in Buffalo, United Funds, in Cleveland, Combined Fund, and in New York, Composite Fund. This is a new development, the results of which cannot yet be measured.

The community trust movement has shown great, but somewhat irregular, growth since its inception in 1914. In the early years the idea was accepted enthusiastically, especially by the officers of trust companies, and community trust organizations were set up at the initiative of banks in many towns and cities. Some of these have never attracted any funds, and exist only as paper organizations. Some control only negligible amounts, and their future is uncertain. About 74, however, are currently active, as already indicated, and most of these are increasing their resources.

The depression decade beginning in 1929 was a difficult period for community trusts. Capital assets continued to increase, but decline in interest returns and defaulted dividend payments resulted in average disbursements from 1933 to 1937 at a lower rate than in 1932, the peak year up to that time. "Community trusts," said Eduard C. Lindeman, a not too optimistic commentator, "at one time seemed likely to become very powerful in the sphere of social welfare. During recent years, however, they have shown a steady decline, both in numbers and in funds."³ His observation has not been justified by the record. Both the capital assets and the dis-

¹ Not to be confused with the separate foundation of that name created in 1918, which merged with the Rockefeller Foundation after the separate creation of the Spelman Fund of New York (1928) and this fund within the New York Community Trust.

² Which also operates the James Foundation, chiefly as an administrative agency in Missouri.

³ "Foundations in Social Work," in *Social Work Year Book*, 1935, Russell Sage Foundation, p. 168.

TABLE 1. AGGREGATE CAPITAL ASSETS AND DISBURSEMENTS OF COMMUNITY TRUSTS, 1921 TO 1944

Year	Capital assets	Disbursements	Disbursements as per cent of assets
1921	\$7,000,000	\$375,000	5.4
1922	7,500,000	350,000	4.7
1923	10,000,000	350,000	3.5
1924	12,000,000	400,000	3.3
1925	13,500,000	500,000	3.7
1926	15,000,000	550,000	3.7
1927	16,000,000	600,000	3.7
1928	24,000,000	700,000	2.9
1929	30,298,000	852,000	2.8
1930	35,390,000	941,000	2.7
1931	37,100,000	1,002,000	2.7
1932	37,500,000	1,107,000	3.0
1933	39,250,000	1,026,000	2.6
1934	40,818,000	1,060,000	2.6
1935	45,137,000	1,129,000	2.5
1936	46,329,000	1,109,000	2.4
1937	48,020,000	1,150,000	2.4
1938	48,503,000	1,757,000	3.6
1939	51,804,000	1,278,000	2.5
1940	52,473,000	2,225,000	4.2
1941	54,273,000	1,606,000	3.0
1942	56,036,000	1,725,000	3.1
1943	57,135,000	1,740,000	3.0
1944	67,042,000	1,918,000	2.9
Total	--	\$25,450,000	3.0

SOURCE: Data on capital assets and disbursements for 1921-1929 from Community Trusts in the United States and Canada, American Bankers Association, New York, 1931, p. 31. Data for 1930-1944 from The First Ten Million, New York Community Trust, Report for 1941, and later releases of this Trust.

bursements have mounted substantially, and in 1944 reached a total of \$67,041,684 in capital assets and \$1,918,475 distributed.¹ Four such trusts have available funds of more than five million, with the New York Community Trust ranking first with \$15,871,557. Disbursements of these trusts exceed those of any but the largest of the general foundations.

¹ According to the survey of the New York Community Trust for 1944.

Trends in community trust assets and disbursements since 1921 are recorded in Table 1. According to this index, capital assets have increased each year since that time, not at a regular pace but at a rough average of two and a half million dollars annually. Such continuous increase is, of course, to be expected — barring financial cataclysm — in a collection of funds of which the great majority are perpetuities, with only income expendable.

The ratio of sums distributed to capital assets shows considerable variation. It remained well above 3 per cent through the prosperous 1920's up to the year before the depression, which was also a year of great increase in capitalization. Then it came tumbling down, and remained low until 1938, when it began to run counter to the still-descending rates of interest. In no depression year before 1938 did distribution quite reach 3 per cent¹ of reported assets. Since then it has averaged somewhat better than 3 per cent. The high of 4.2 per cent in 1940 was due to a large outpayment of principal by one of the trusts, and should be discounted as an indication of trend. It is presumed that as individual community trusts grow older, a greater proportion of their total resources will be freed from life-interest encumbrances.

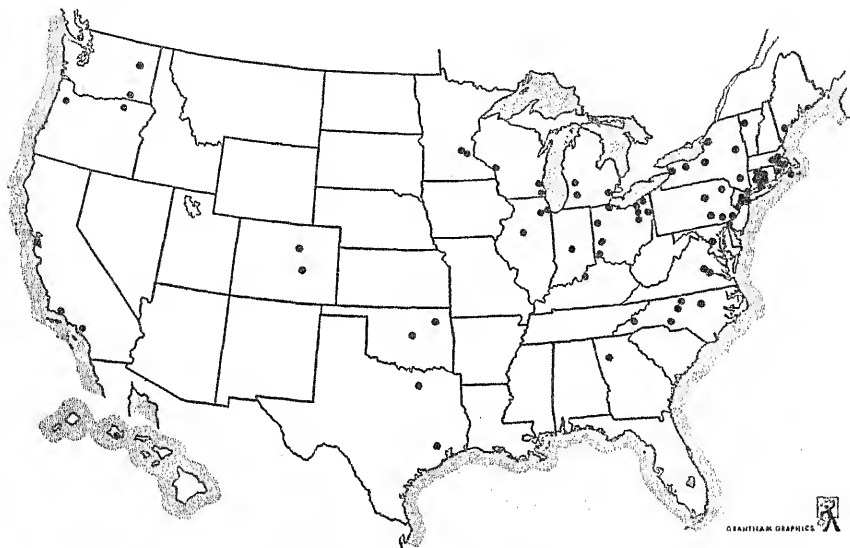
TABLE 2. CAPITAL ASSETS AND DISBURSEMENTS IN 1944 OF THE EIGHT LARGEST COMMUNITY TRUSTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Name	Capital assets	1944 disbursements
New York Community Trust	\$15,871,557	\$558,746
Chicago Community Trust	9,000,000	270,000
Cleveland Foundation	8,635,167	279,649
Permanent Charity Fund, Boston	5,939,371	251,126
Indianapolis Foundation	2,596,160	114,870
Buffalo Foundation	1,290,210	26,124
California Community Foundation	1,171,173	27,372
New Haven Foundation	1,077,836	34,307
Total	\$45,581,474	\$1,562,194

While the larger community trusts which have answered questionnaires are individually reported in the Descriptive Directory, the eight such trusts reporting to us capital assets of more than one million dollars

¹ The 1932 percentage, rounded in the table, is actually 2.952.

are also listed in Table 2 for ready comparison. These eight community foundations currently account for approximately 70 per cent of capital assets and 80 per cent of the disbursements of all community trusts¹ on which records are available.



GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY TRUSTS IN THE UNITED STATES
Courtesy Chicago Community Trust

Geographical distribution of the 74 community trusts in the United States is presented in the spot map above. Very high concentration of these trusts in the large cities of the East is evident, with fair representation on the West Coast. But this device has not taken any root in the Mountain States, except Colorado, nor in most of the Prairie States. A large field for future development remains open.

GENERAL PHILANTHROPIC FOUNDATIONS

The general philanthropic foundation is the type with which this study is chiefly concerned. Its organization, administration, financial problems, and fields of activity are considered in later chapters. Having

¹ Since this book is limited to the United States, the several Canadian community trusts have been omitted. The largest of these is the Winnipeg Foundation, with funds reported at \$3,561,989 in January, 1945.

tried in this chapter to indicate the groups into which other kinds of endowments seem to fall, we shall do no more at this point than refer to certain broad features that appear to be found in practically all general philanthropic foundations.

In this classification belong most of the large foundations, controlling such a preponderance of the funds of all foundations that they establish the national pattern. The majority have broad charters¹ which permit wide choice in methods of operation and fields of interest, and provide sufficient flexibility of purpose to enable them to change their programs of work to meet developing needs.

The Rockefeller Foundation was established "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." The Carnegie Corporation of New York may promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States, and the British Dominions and Colonies, by aiding technical schools, institutions of higher learning, libraries, scientific research, useful publications, and by such other agencies and means as shall from time to time be found appropriate therefor. The Commonwealth Fund may apply income or principal "for the welfare of mankind." The Russell Sage Foundation was created "for the improvement of social and living conditions in the United States of America." The Ford Foundation was incorporated "to receive and administer funds for scientific, educational, and charitable purposes, all for the public welfare."

The phrase "for scientific, educational, and charitable purposes," often with the addition of "religious," has, indeed, become almost a standard legal expression in recent foundation charters.

However general their charters may be, foundations find it administratively desirable to concentrate their work in particular fields, though these fields may be abandoned or altered with changing situations. What these fields are, and the degree of concentration in each, are discussed in Chapter 5, Fields of Activity.

Classification by Method of Work

Foundations may also be classified by method of work into operating and non-operating foundations. The operating foundations maintain

¹ Elliott, Edward C. and Chambers, M. M., *Charters of Philanthropies*. Prepared for private distribution, New York, 1939.

research or service staffs of their own. A few of them also make grants to outside agencies working in related or kindred fields, but a substantial portion of their work of research or service is performed by members of their own regular staff. The non-operating foundation does not carry on a public service program directly through its own personnel. It maintains a permanent staff only large enough for central administration, and conducts research or studies only so far as may be necessary to determine the need for grants in particular fields. Its chief function is the making of grants.

Nearly all foundations are of the non-operating, grant-giving type. Among the operating foundations which constitute important exceptions to this rule are the American Foundation, Commonwealth Fund, Milbank Memorial Fund, Russell Sage Foundation, Smithsonian Institution, and Twentieth Century Fund.

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

IN THE establishment of foundations a number of choices are open, and considerable variety in legal forms exists. This chapter undertakes a very brief summary of past experience in organizing and administering foundations, relating this experience to the problems they face today.

INITIATION

Some of the earliest private foundations were set up by special acts of Congress; among these were the Carnegie Institution of Washington, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and the General Education Board. The American Academy in Rome has a charter from Congress and is also incorporated under the laws of New York State. The Thomas Thompson Trust was established in 1869 under decrees of the Probate Court of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, and the Louis Comfort Tiffany Foundation, not incorporated, operates under a trust created under the laws of New York State. Of those foundations on which we have substantially full record, 56 (most of them community trusts) are not incorporated, but operate as charitable trusts under a trust declaration or resolution, or such device as a deed or indenture.

By far the commonest form of organization, however, is incorporation under the laws of a particular state. Out of 287 foundations supplying information on legal status, 227 reported incorporation in the several states, the District of Columbia (five), and the Territory of Hawaii (one). This information is summarized in Table 3.

State incorporations are usually in the foundation's home state, but this is not an invariable rule. Of the 13 foundations recording incorporation

in Delaware, only one is a Delaware foundation; ten give New York addresses, and two, Pennsylvania.

TABLE 3. LEGAL STATUS OF 287 FOUNDATIONS

Status	Number	Per cent
Established by act of Congress	4	1.4
Incorporated by states		
New York	93	32.4
Massachusetts	21	7.3
Delaware	13	4.5
Michigan	10	3.5
Other states	90	31.4
Subtotal	227	79.1
Trust agreements	27	9.4
Not incorporated; no further data	29	10.1
Total	287	100.0

The laws of incorporation for charitable organizations differ somewhat in the various jurisdictions. The incorporators are usually the first board of trustees (or a part of that board, to be filled out later), and may include the founder, if living. The statement of purpose may be quite specific, or as broad as "the welfare of mankind." In view of a number of unfortunate past experiences with highly restricted perpetuities, the modern tendency has been toward broad statements of purpose, or at least the granting of substantial powers to the trustees for effecting changes. In many cases perpetuity is made discretionary, and in some a policy compelling liquidation within a set term of years has been adopted. The more specific immediate purposes of the founder may be conveyed in a Letter of Gift, thus avoiding the dangerous rigidity and legal obligation on administrators which would accompany limiting statements regarding purpose in the act of incorporation.

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

In general the board of trustees of a foundation *is* the foundation. Some or all of the members have been the original incorporators, and they and the successors elected by them are the members of the corpora-

tion. In most of the better-known foundations the full quota of members are elected as trustees. They then have the full power to engage and release the professional staff, to make or refuse grants, to determine program by originating suggestions themselves or by adopting or rejecting proposals reaching them from the professional staff or the public. In practice trustees delegate many of these powers to the professional or administrative staff, which reports its actions periodically to the trustees. Final authority and power for action taken by the institution rests with the trustees and the corporation.

In view of these large responsibilities, methods of trustee selection are important. Ordinarily the donor selects members of the first board, and empowers them by one method or another to fill vacancies. Elections are usually for a series of overlapping terms, with re-election quite probable; but election may be for life. The General Education Board, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Julius Rosenwald Fund provide that persons above the age of sixty-five shall not be eligible as trustees, and the Research Corporation — a business corporation with some foundation characteristics — provides that given certain circumstances new trustees must be under forty-five years of age.¹

Since the donor customarily appoints either the incorporators or the first board, a foundation in its early history often includes on these bodies members of the donor's family and close business or other associates. In other cases even the first appointments consist of persons little known to the donor but prominent in the fields he wishes to assist, and definite efforts may be made to have the board represent diversified interests. The number of individuals making up these boards ranges from three or even fewer, usually in community trusts or the smaller foundations, to more than 20, as in many of the Carnegie benefactions. The executive officer may or may not be a member of the board. Many foundations have found seven to 12 members to constitute an effective board. Membership sometimes is divided into three groups, each serving three-year terms, with the terms of only one-third expiring annually. Quorums vary with the size of the membership.

The self-perpetuation feature of trustee boards has been considerably criticized as tending to continue the selection of a disproportionate number of older persons, as militating against experimental and progressive

¹ Elliott and Chambers, *Charters of Philanthropies*, p. 4.

programs, and as tending to fortify and perpetuate a single point of view or attitude toward public questions with which the institution should deal. Trustees of foundations are in fact a rather homogeneous group, though no more so than trustees of colleges and many other organizations seeking to serve the public welfare. According to the Lindeman study:

A typical trustee of an American foundation is a man (in the total group of 402 trustees there were 11 women) well past middle age; he is more often than not a man of considerable affluence, or one whose economic security ranks high; his social position in the community is that of a person who belongs to the higher income-receiving class of the population; he is, presumably, "respectable" and "conventional" and belongs to the "best" clubs and churches, and he associates with men of prestige, power, and affluence. His training has been largely in the arts and humanities and he possesses only a slight background in the sciences and technologies. He resides in the Northeastern section of the United States and has attended one of the private colleges in that region. His "intelligence" is ranked high by various institutions of higher learning from whom he has received signal honors. He receives his income primarily from profits and fees. In short, he is a member of that successful and conservative class which came into prominence during the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the class whose status is based primarily upon pecuniary success.¹

In the light of this conservative picture, which Professor Lindeman bolsters with biographies and statistical summaries, the record of many foundations in supporting progressive and unconventional movements is notable. It lends point to Frederick P. Keppel's prophecy that "the years to come will find, let us call it, a greater variety of light and shade in the makeup of foundation boards, and I also venture to predict that this will make no particular difference in their policies and programs, but that it will have an important effect by increasing public confidence."²

As a general rule trustees are not paid, except for traveling and other expenses incident to trustee meetings. The practices of some of the small foundations are not known, but among the larger foundations we have

¹ Lindeman, Eduard C., *Wealth and Culture*. Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1936, pp. 44-45.

² "Opportunities and Dangers of Educational Foundations," in *School and Society*, December 26, 1925, p. 798.

found only three exceptions to this rule. The Carnegie Corporation of New York in its earliest period paid \$5,000 a year to each trustee, but the trustees themselves soon voted to abandon this payment. The Board of Managers of the Buhl Foundation is authorized "to fix the compensation each shall receive from time to time," and reports payment is being made. The Duke Endowment sets aside 3 per cent of income for payment of its trustees, of whom there are 15; it is probably the only foundation in which substantial payments to trustees are now being made.

Such payment is generally frowned upon as not necessary and not in the public interest. Foundations with challenging programs have experienced no difficulty in obtaining without payment the services of able and distinguished men; it is probable that an offer of payment would discourage rather than encourage the acceptance of trusteeship by persons of the desired caliber.

Many boards recognize the desirability of broad experience within their membership, and efforts are being made toward achieving these wider horizons. Community trusts, facing their own particular problem, have broadened their boards through appointments made by public and semi-public bodies. Some form of public representation on the boards of general foundations is discussed in Chapter 6, Trends and Possible Developments.¹

Functions of the Board

The primary function of a board of trustees is the broad determination of policies in harmony with the foundation's charter. However completely authority has been vested in the board, it has neither the time nor usually the special knowledge required for detailed administration of the work of the larger foundations. A few boards meet monthly; but quarterly or merely annual meetings are more common — particularly among the numerous small foundations. An executive committee usually handles emergencies and interim business, having the full powers of the trustees between meetings. Except in the case of the smaller and newer foundations neither the trustees nor the executive committee attempt to transact the considerable amount of detailed administrative work which requires attention.

Thus one of the important functions of the board is employment of

¹ See p. 99.

an administrative or professional staff suited to the foundation's work. Even when the foundation is non-operating (that is, not carrying on a public service program directly through its own staff), confining its program to grants to existing organizations, requests for such grants require investigation and study; expert advice, sometimes from more than one quarter, often needs to be sought; and occasionally the foundation, through its experience in a given field, may wish to take the initiative itself in suggesting projects and in getting them under way. Where an active program under the foundation's own auspices is undertaken, the professional staff will usually include an executive officer, with executive assistants, a research staff, a clerical staff, consultants, a publishing division, and legal counsel. In some instances, particularly where the scope is international, branch offices in other countries have been found useful, as with the Rockefeller Foundation.

Upon the quality of the staff depends in large part the effectiveness of the foundation. Its members are in direct contact with the public, and it is by their work that the public will frequently judge the foundation. Upon their knowledge of conditions and needs in various fields, their skills and creative imagination, the trustees must largely rely for the formulation of a program and the discovery of special opportunities. Discriminating appointments to major staff positions are, therefore, among the important duties of the board of trustees.

Another important function of the trustees is the investing of the foundation's principal funds. This involves questions of policy as among various types of investment — bonds, stocks, real estate, or other income-producing assets. Where the board includes persons with special financial knowledge and experience, a finance committee of the board itself sometimes accepts this assignment. If the fund is very large, a staff of investment specialists may be employed as a part of the regular organization. In other cases foundations contract with established banks or trust companies to carry a major responsibility in advising the trustees regarding their portfolios. And in still other instances investment counsel is employed for whatever service may be required. Questions of investment policy peculiar to foundations are discussed in the chapter following, *Some Financial Questions*.¹

Action upon grants is a major function of nearly every board. In the

¹ See pp. 70-73.

earlier days of American foundations, and in some instances even at present, the boards simply considered the requests for appropriations which happened to come in from those organizations and institutions which saw fit to apply. Today it is customary to seek expert advice — from the foundation's own professional staff, from confidential reports by specialists in the field concerned, or from national organizations. The foundation itself sometimes assumes the initiative, rather than acting only on requests which come from outside. Programs tend to concentrate in particular fields where trustees and staff have accumulated experience and knowledge, a tendency which would seem to be sound. Nevertheless a single foundation reports seeking advice from nearly 300 outside persons and organizations in a single year. Consideration of requests for grants from a wide range of applicants, together with the practice of seeking expert advice, promises more broadly conceived programs.

The trustees have at least an advisory responsibility for program operation, and their contribution may be important. According to one foundation executive, "Lay responsibility . . . is needed to insure a sense of proportion in all things, to balance the vaulting ambition of the specialist, and, it may be, to mitigate his intolerance. It is needed to see that administration, while competent, is kept at a minimum, something no administrator can be relied upon to do for himself."¹

ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

At least three fairly well-defined forms of operation are open to foundations from the administrative point of view. They may confine their program to the making of grants; they may set up temporary research staffs or experimental projects; or they may maintain a permanent staff for research or service. Each form of organization has its own advantages and drawbacks.

A program confined to the making of grants is relatively simple, and requires a minimum of staff. Indeed, some of the smaller foundations administer such programs without any paid workers. For effective distribution of substantial sums, however, some professional staff is desirable, to conduct necessary investigations into the merits of the appeal,

¹ Keppel, Frederick P., *Philanthropy and Learning, with Other Papers*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1936, p. 167.

handle correspondence, appraise accomplishment, and be the eyes of the foundation, seeking out new opportunities for service. Relations with grantees are themselves a complicated matter, which we shall later discuss.

Some foundations build and disband operating staffs on a project basis, with only a small central staff which is permanent. Then as particular projects are taken up, special staffs are employed to carry them out. This plan of organization can be adopted for research projects, as in the case of the Twentieth Century Fund, or for demonstration projects, as for example the rural hospital demonstrations of the Commonwealth Fund. It has definite advantages. Specialists in particular fields can be drawn in for specific jobs of work. Such staffs may be expanded or contracted very rapidly, as dictated by social emergencies or internal financial policy. There are also grave difficulties. Persons with substantial reputations employed on a temporary basis are sometimes a disappointment in the caliber of their work or in ability to set down their findings. Lack of acquaintance with the organization's purposes, traditions, and procedures also raises problems, and is likely to cause loss of time in turning out the finished product.

A few foundations set up full, permanent staffs and employ them constantly in conducting studies or furnishing services in particular fields. This form of organization ensures continued and usually effective activity in these fields, and a high degree of stability. The foundation is able to build upon a reputation once established, and becomes a center of information and service in the chosen areas. The cumulative effects of experience and increasing knowledge in given subjects usually prove to be distinct gains for the staff workers. On the other hand, persons who began as researchers and discoverers find themselves more and more tied down by administrative responsibilities, by mounting pressures for conferences, lectures, papers, and committee services. There is always also some lack of fluidity, some danger of continuing a service after the need has passed, although experience gained in one area can usually be applied to advantage in new or related fields.

Of the three forms of organization — limitation to grants, *ad hoc* staff, permanent staff — none can be recommended unreservedly. Each is well adapted to certain kinds of work. A choice should be made after careful consideration of the advantages and limitations of each for the particular goals which have been set for the institution.

RELATIONS WITH GRANTEEES

Of the total expenditures of foundations, only about one-quarter goes to operating programs, staff maintenance, and miscellaneous expenses. About three-quarters is disbursed in direct grants to outside agencies or individuals. The circumstances of these grants, and relations with grantees, are therefore matters of importance.

Requests for grants come in various ways, by letter, by personal visit to the foundation headquarters, through appeal to one or more of the trustees, through the professional staff, on postcards, in elaborate portfolios. Sometimes all the trustees and executives who might have the remotest part in the decision are bombarded with high-pressure appeals that would do credit to a legislative lobby.

The variety of the requests reaching any large foundation is almost incredible. Among requests for grants recently declined by one foundation are the following proposed projects: purchase of a collection of patent models; financing a campaign for a special religious "week"; promotion of the peace plan of a local woman's club; personal loan of \$5,000 to be used in re-establishing the grantee's "business in a medical line"; contribution toward the Red Cross campaign quota of the proposer's home town; a souvenir booklet on an organization's history; office space for an art center; publishing a folder of helpful religious sayings for service men; an institute to "harvest the ideas and constructive thoughts of the American people"; providing education in domestic science and health practice in a local community; financial help in preparing, publishing, or distributing a number of proposed books; financial assistance for pursuing a course in medicine; preparation and publication of a crime prevention manual; translation and typing costs on the manuscript of a refugee scholar; promotion of singing among boys at naval training stations and elsewhere; purchase of a sound projector; a biological study of 20,000 families.

Some of these projects do not belong in the program of any foundation. Others are worthy in themselves, but were declined by the foundation in question as being outside its scope, beyond its resources, or not sufficiently related to its present program. Such a list is but a small sample of the wide variety of requests which reach every well-known foundation. Each must be considered on its merits, and, of course, each must have a reply. The obvious misfits can be declined promptly by the ad-

ministrative staff, but acceptances and close decisions must usually await either a meeting of the executive committee or of the board of trustees. Even when the final decision is refusal, the matter is not necessarily ended. The proposer may soon submit his project in slightly different form with new supporting arguments. And no matter how courteous and how well founded the refusal, the proposer will compare the project that he himself conceived with the grants the foundation is known to have made, to the inevitable discredit, in his mind, of the foundation's judgment, and possibly even of its integrity. On this subject Henry S. Pritchett spoke feelingly in his first report as acting president of the Carnegie Corporation of New York:

A charitable foundation becomes inevitably the Mecca of all solicitors. Each of these is convinced that the cause which he represents is essential and important. Men can sincerely believe this even when the chief function of the cause which they represent is to furnish salaries for those who conduct it. Nothing is more illuminating in the study of such agencies than to note the wide gap between the accomplishment which they consider themselves to have compassed and that with which unprejudiced and impartial observers credit them. Some causes are exceptional, many are worthy, but the majority are commonplace.¹

Many projects are finally accepted — over 52 million dollars' worth in 1944. Acceptance confronts the foundation with a new set of problems in fundamental policy, and in relations with grantees.

Shall the grant be for endowment? This was formerly a rather general practice. An endowment was presumed to put a college, a library, an organization, on a permanent basis, extending the benefit of the grant into the indefinite future. Such grants are no longer common. Reduced interest rates have cut heavily into the abilities of foundations to make substantial endowment contributions, and have made endowments themselves of less value. When interest rates are cut in half, obviously an endowment must be twice as large to furnish the same annual sum toward current expenses. Moreover, even where income from endowment has been adequate, the organization comfortably endowed has not always maintained its first efficiency, or been quickly responsive to changing public needs. Of course, there are many examples of endowments to colleges and other public-serving institutions which continue to

¹ "A Science of Giving," in Report for the Year Ended September 30, 1922, pp. 15, 16.

be of great benefit to the community and nation. We are here merely recording the growing unwillingness of most foundations to transfer much of their own principal funds or income into the endowment of other institutions — formerly a common practice.

Shall the grant be made for a long or short term? Said Edwin R. Embree,¹ "The aim is to give as little as possible for as short a time as possible. Should any of their projects become permanently dependent upon their help, foundations would feel that they had failed." However, the grant must be large enough to accomplish adequately the purpose intended, or to make the thorough test required; rich rewards do not spring from poor tools and underpaid men in philanthropy any more than they do in other fields. If a project will plainly need assistance for two or three years, foundations are inclined to make at once the grant for the indicated term, so that proper planning can be done. Where a grant is for the launching and running expenses of an organization which is expected to have permanence, a favored foundation practice is to make annual grants on a declining scale, with warning in advance that this will be the procedure; it is assumed that as the organization demonstrates its usefulness it can substitute public for foundation support, until it becomes entirely self-sustaining.

Foundations, because they do not depend for support on current appeals to the public, would seem to be well suited to support new and experimental projects, well-conceived adventures which have in them a certain element of risk or possible failure. Indeed there is an especial obligation upon them to give aid to this type of enterprise since public officials as a rule feel hesitant, and for the most part justly so, in sponsoring unproved departures from established programs. But for the very reason that foundations seem well adapted to giving financial aid to new and experimental enterprises, most of them feel that they cannot commit themselves for long-term grants of any kind. If they obligate themselves to organizations for the support of programs for long periods of years they are likely to find their own funds completely committed when new and promising ventures are presented. Grants for longer terms, however, have sometimes met with favor in the cases of organizations which themselves are carrying on experimental work or are setting up new projects to deal with new needs as they emerge.

¹ "The Business of Giving Away Money," in *Harper's Monthly*, August, 1930, p. 329.

It should be added that so-called failures in experiments or new ventures need not reflect adversely on the contributing foundation or the experimenting group. It may be very salutary to discover that a certain program does not satisfy a particular public need, a certain method of work will not bring results, or that the public is not yet ready for a particular idea or movement, however important it seems to a thoughtful few. Some so-called failures of foundation projects may save the public pocketbook and the common welfare a great deal more than is represented by the grants involved. Of course, no foundation would wish to let its failures — as far as these may be measured by public reactions — outnumber its successes.

Conditional or matching grants have had an important history in foundations. Their purpose was either to stimulate more giving — to multiply the beneficent effects of a foundation grant by making it conditional upon receipt of an equal or larger sum from other sources — or to encourage the meeting of some other condition deemed desirable. For example, the Peabody Education Fund offered a grant of \$1,000 to the city schools of Rome, Georgia, provided the city itself would "vote a tax of \$3,000 and convert private schools into public schools."¹ The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching conditioned its pensions upon the achievement of certain standards by the colleges whose professors were considered eligible. The General Education Board in making grants for endowment usually required matching sums from alumni or other sources. Grants for library buildings, whether made by Mr. Carnegie or, in the later period, by the Carnegie Corporation of New York under his direction, were made upon condition that the community itself should furnish a site, and that it should guarantee an annual support for the library of not less than 10 per cent of the cost of the building.²

Criticism has been leveled at foundations for these matching or conditional gifts. Critics call them a device for exercising influence out of all proportion to the gift made, and object to any attempts at control of policy on the basis of financial contribution. Perhaps the most celebrated debate on this subject occurred as a result of the condition of the Carnegie Foundation that pensions would not be granted to staff members of denominational colleges. Professors in these colleges pressed for non-denominational status, or attempted to change positions. Religious

¹ Quoted in *Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education* by Ernest V. Hollis, p. 39.

² Report for the Year Ended September 30, 1922, p. 9.

boards took up the cudgels against what they regarded as the unwarranted attempt of a foundation to remove religious influence from higher education.

The trend against conditions on grants was given further impetus in 1938, when the Rockefeller Foundation and the General Education Board freed from restrictions some 199 million dollars of previous gifts, notifying each recipient that "ten years after the date of the gift the income from it may be used in whole or in part for some purpose other than that for which the gift was made, such purpose to be as reasonably related to the original purpose as may be found practicable . . .," and similarly freeing principal after expiration of twenty-five years. Conditional and matching gifts are still made by foundations, but much less frequently and apparently with greater care than formerly.

The question of control is a vital one in relations with grantees. Some measure of direction is implicit in the power to grant money to one applicant rather than another, and to create or support one type of organization as against other claimants. Once a grant has been made, however, two quite divergent policies are available. Some foundations expect board or committee membership in the assisted organization or project; they require detailed reports, and expect to be consulted from time to time on policy and future program. This is done with a view to achieving a more effective program, as the foundation sees it; but possibly no foundation policy has aroused more public criticism or ill-will on the part of grantees than this, which could easily take the form of continuing control. Many of the more experienced foundations have adopted a strictly "hands off" policy after the grant has been made.

There is a very nice line of distinction, however, to be drawn between the desire to avoid anything resembling dictation of policy or program through the gifts of funds, and follow-up attention to grants. This seems a necessary part of the foundation's responsibility in determining whether the funds were spent for the purposes intended, and as a check by the foundation on its own judgment in choosing projects. The tendency in present foundation policy is to exercise as much care as possible in making decisions on projects to be aided or supported, and then to trust those in whose hands the grants fall to carry out the purposes faithfully and efficiently. This is an extension of the principle of academic freedom to the operations of organizations and research bodies supported by foundation grants.

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SOME FINANCIAL QUESTIONS

BECAUSE of the rapid and recent growth of foundations, and their sometimes highly publicized achievements, many popular misconceptions exist as to their resources and their place in American philanthropy. Questions of foundation finance need to be considered against the background of the larger philanthropic picture.

THE AMERICAN PHILANTHROPIC BUDGET

Reliable, detailed figures on American philanthropy as a whole do not exist. The difficulties in collecting data are enormous, beginning with difficulties of definition, the multiplicity of agencies concerned, and the natural tendencies within the field toward privacy. Moreover, both endowment and expenditure are factors of importance. Finally, expanded governmental expenditures for welfare, which in 1942 were estimated as nine times as large as voluntary social welfare expenditures,¹ add a new dimension to the problem.

As regards endowment, Wood, Struthers and Company published in 1932 one of the few attempts at an over-all picture. It is worth looking at for broad perspective, although its figures were set up as no more than informed estimates, and are now seriously outdated.

In some of these classifications, more recent figures are available. The United States Office of Education, compiling 1940 reports from 1,440 institutions of higher education, arrives at a total of 3,039 million dollars as the value of the 962 privately controlled institutions, of which approximately one-half was in the form of capital funds and a nearly equal

¹ Estimate from America's Needs and Resources, "Religion and Social Welfare," Twentieth Century Fund, New York. (In preparation.)

TABLE 4. ESTIMATE OF WOOD, STRUTHERS AND COMPANY OF THE VALUE OF PHILANTHROPIC PROPERTY AND OF THE YEAR'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO PHILANTHROPY IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1932

Division	Property including endowment	Year's contributions
Religion	\$3,839,500,000	\$ 996,300,000
Higher education	2,815,000,000	233,700,000
Hospitals	1,400,000,000	221,500,000
Foundations	1,000,000,000
Organized charity	239,000,000	250,000,000
Total	\$9,293,500,000	\$1,701,500,000

SOURCE: Wood, Struthers and Company, Trusteeship of American Endowments. Macmillan Co., New York, 1932, p. 6.

amount in buildings, grounds, and equipment.¹ Our survey of foundation endowment² indicates that the 1944 total in this category was in the neighborhood of 1,818 million dollars. Moreover, higher education is only a part of education, hospitals only a part of health, and certain items such as libraries, museums, recreation, and others seem to be omitted. We shall probably be conservative if we estimate philanthropic endowment, including property, somewhere between 12 and 15 billion dollars. If this be true, foundations represent at most some 15 per cent of present philanthropic endowment.

Philanthropy's funds available for annual expenditure consist chiefly of income from the interest-producing portion of endowment (plus occasional expenditure from principal) and current charitable gifts. The latter are by far the more important. For such gifts, figures which are probably fairly reliable are available from income-tax returns.

According to the latest available analysis of income-tax returns,³ some 20.3 million persons or families with a total income of 61.6 billion dollars reported charitable contributions of 1,453 million dollars, which represents an average charitable contribution of 2.36 per cent of gross income. Some 15.6 million persons used form 1040A which does not sepa-

¹ Badger, Kelly, and Blauch, *Statistics of Higher Education 1939-40 and 1941-42*. Federal Security Agency, U.S. Office of Education, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1944, p. 42.

² See p. 57.

³ U.S. Treasury Dept., *Statistics of Income for 1942, Part 1, Preliminary Report*. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1944.

rately list contributions, but does report total income. If the same rate is applied to their income of 25.5 billion dollars, their charitable contributions amount to 603 million dollars.¹ The total charitable contribution of individuals who reported at all to the Department of the Treasury probably was in the neighborhood of 2,056 million dollars. In the same year the Treasury reported corporation charitable contributions at 58 million dollars.

Adding to these items the reported foundation expenditures of 72 million dollars,² an estimated 3.5 per cent of an assumed 12 billion dollars of charitable endowment³ exclusive of foundations, and a round 100 million dollars to cover charitable bequests not in the form of endowment, we arrive at the very rough approximations of Table 5 as a possible over-all figure for current private philanthropy.

TABLE 5. ESTIMATE OF CURRENT ANNUAL RECEIPTS OF PRIVATE PHILANTHROPY IN THE UNITED STATES

Source	Amount
Contributions from individuals	\$2,056,000,000
Contributions from corporations	58,000,000
From endowment, other than foundation	420,000,000
Foundation expenditures	72,000,000
Charitable bequests not applied to endowment	100,000,000
Total	\$2,706,000,000

This estimate, obviously, is not assumed to be exact. A few other estimates may be worth citing. John Price Jones⁴ estimated "philanthropic giving" in 1941 at \$1,465,024,000. His figure did not include expenditure from endowment other than foundation, and considerably underesti-

¹ This is probably conservative, since a close analysis of the rate of charitable contribution reveals the quite interesting fact that persons with incomes below \$5,000 a year shared with the very wealthy (persons with above \$50,000 a year) the privilege of contributing to charity at more than the average rate of 2.36 per cent of income.

² See p. 59.

³ Includes endowment in the form of property as well as invested funds, since the former may be regarded as saving rent.

⁴ Jones, John Price (Editor), *The Yearbook of Philanthropy*, 1942-43. Inter-River Press, New York, 1943, pp. 4-6.

mated foundation expenditure. In 1936 Fortune estimated that "U.S. citizens have given away an average of \$2,000,000,000 a year during the last fifteen years to educational, philanthropic, religious, and charitable agencies."¹

In view of the greatly expanded national income of 1944, these estimates tend to confirm a figure in the neighborhood of the suggested 2,706 million dollars as the current annual budget of private philanthropy.

In this perspective, the resources available to foundations for annual expenditure seem very small indeed — about 72 million dollars in 1944, less than 3 per cent of our philanthropic budget.

In the perspective of American expenditures for war, amounting to 91.2 billion dollars during 1944,² the relative smallness of foundation resources is even more apparent. If the total *capital* of all foundations had been requisitioned, they would have kept the United States war effort going less than eight days. If the total *expenditures* of all foundations for 1944 had been contributed to war purposes, they would have sustained our war effort only six hours and fifty-six minutes.

Comparisons with consumer expenditures in the luxury class are almost equally startling. It is estimated³ that we spent 5.2 billion dollars in 1942 for alcoholic beverages; one year's alcohol bill would finance all foundation expenditures, at the 1944 rate, for seventy-two years. One year's tobacco bill⁴ — 2.4 billion dollars — much more than equals the endowment of all existing foundations.

RESOURCES OF FOUNDATIONS

A total of 505 foundations appear in the Descriptive Directory of this book. All of these were requested to state their capital assets at the end of 1944, or at the close of their fiscal year ending in 1944. In a few instances another date was chosen, and is so stated in the Descriptive Directory. Both book value and market value were requested if known; but for

¹ "John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Philanthropist," in Fortune, July, 1936, p. 40.

² News Release 7341, War Production Board, February 14, 1945.

³ Shaw, William H., "Consumption Expenditures, 1929-43," in Survey of Current Business, June, 1944. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

⁴ *Ibid.*

these statistics market value is chosen where available. This varies from year to year with security prices, but is regarded as a better comparative index than book value, which in the case of some foundations may have been set during the depression lows, and in the case of others at the inflated values of the late 1920's.

Even with the term "total capital assets" some difficulties of definition arose. In one or two instances, where current contributions as well as endowment are a part of operating funds, these contributions for immediate expenditure were at first included, though such sums were ruled out by the authors where they could be identified.

The value of assets, when they were in stocks for which no market value is set, or in real estate, presented problems. In the several cases where stocks were closely held by a foundation which was unwilling to set a price upon them itself, perhaps in fear of prejudicing future sales price, the authors capitalized the income at the conservative rate of 3 per cent. Such capitalizations are not included in the foundation reports in the Descriptive Directory; they are used merely in the tabulations, where they appear among the A Estimates. Real estate producing income or saving rent was included among estimated assets at conservative values.

Full publishable reports of capital assets were obtained for 250 foundations, and full but confidential figures for 15 additional, totaling \$1,431,553,417 in capital assets. On a lower plane of accuracy are the estimates for 69 foundations, based on newspaper reports, capitalizations of expenditures, and private information of various sorts. The total for these A Estimates is \$369,163,882. Finally, 171 foundations with known addresses made no reply to inquiries, nor did we have concerning them any substantial information on which to base an estimate. These were arbitrarily capitalized at an average of \$100,000. Since most of them are family foundations, frequently of recent organization, this figure is doubtless too high for many individual foundations; on the other hand, the group probably does not disclose several foundations of substantial size. The total of \$17,100,000 for these B Estimates is probably conservative. No high degree of accuracy is claimed for this figure, however, which in any event is an almost negligible part of the estimated total capitalization of nearly two billion dollars.

Table 6 itemizes this information. Including estimated amounts, capital assets of American foundations for social welfare reach \$1,817,817,299, a figure believed to be conservative.

TABLE 6. ANALYSIS OF ESTIMATED AGGREGATE CAPITAL ASSETS, TOTAL EXPENDITURES, AND GRANTS OF 505 FOUNDATIONS IN UNITED STATES IN 1944

Nature of data	Capital assets		Expenditures		Grants	
	Number of foundations	Amount	Number of foundations	Amount	Number of foundations	Amount
Reported for publication	250	\$1,402,494,816	247	\$58,502,848	196	\$42,103,490
Confidential reports	15	29,058,601	14	1,334,961	9	639,812
A Estimates ^a	69	369,163,882	73	11,644,585	129	9,148,252
B Estimates ^b	171	17,100,000	171	513,000	171	513,000
Total	505	\$1,817,817,299	505	\$71,995,394	505	\$52,404,554

^a Based on newspaper reports and miscellaneous other estimates.

^b No information available. Arbitrary figures applied — capitalization \$100,000; expenditures and grants, each \$3,000.

FOUNDATION EXPENDITURES

The term "expenditures" was designed to cover all disbursements during the year of record, whether for grants, for a foundation's own operating program if such were conducted, or for administration. On an additional line in the questionnaire which we submitted¹ foundations were asked to set down the portion of this total represented by grants to outside agencies, organizations, or persons.

A few foundations reported grants but left the expenditures line blank, or made it the same figure as for grants. They possibly feared uninformed criticism on costs of administration. As the authors have tried to make clear in the preceding chapter, creative giving is a complicated business requiring skilled attention. The investigation which precedes the making of a grant, and sometimes the duty of disseminating the information which results, are important tasks which must not be stinted, and relatively high costs of administration are often completely justified.

However, as a result of these fears or other possible reasons our expenditure figures are somewhat less complete than the assets figures. It should also be noted that community trusts, in substantially all instances, fail to include in the expenditure figure trustee fees taken by banks be-

¹ See pp. 215-216 for sample.

fore income is turned over for distribution, and in many cases do not include administration costs within the community trust itself. On the other hand, some organizations which operate student loan funds reported as expenditures the total amounts lent. These we disallowed as either expenditures or grants, except for a small percentage assumed as probable loss.

The grants tabulations are based on actual disbursements for the year of record. We ruled against grants merely voted within a given year, since some foundations make long-term continuing grants whose total it would be misleading to place within a single year, and since some voted grants eventually lapse, and never do represent true expenditure.

Publishable reports on expenditures (including grants of funds) cover 247 foundations, with full confidential reports from 14 others, totaling \$59,837,809. Informed estimates for 73 additional foundations add \$11,644,585. For the 171 foundations on which no financial information was available, we have arbitrarily estimated both expenditures and grants at \$3,000 each, or 3 per cent of the arbitrary capitalization. Many of these are family foundations, serving simply as corporate channels for individual or family giving. They frequently have no administrative expenses. Since they often include gifts from the founder's current income, the assumed total of \$513,000 is certainly far too small, but in a study of endowed foundations it seemed scarcely appropriate to attempt to include an estimate of the additional sums which represent purely current charitable giving which happens to be channeled through foundations. The total expenditures for 505 foundations were estimated at \$71,995,394.

Full reports on grants to outside agencies were available from 196 foundations, with confidential information from 9 more, totaling \$42,743,302. Informed estimates on 129 foundations added \$9,148,252, and we assumed an additional \$513,000 for 171 other foundations as already discussed. However, of the 205 foundations making complete reports on this subject, 34 must be deducted as making no grants in 1944; and from information believed reliable, an additional 38 are set down in the A Estimates at a zero figure for grants. The total of \$52,404,554 in grants to outside agencies, therefore, represents the known and estimated grants of 433 grant-giving foundations.

According to the gross tabulations, from capital assets of \$1,817,817,299 came an expenditure in the year of record of \$71,995,394, or about 4 per

cent. This is near, though somewhat above, the rate many foundations are currently realizing on their investments, and is a useful general figure. It must not, however, be applied indiscriminately to individual foundations.

Several recently organized foundations have their assets still tied up in legal entanglements, or have not decided on program, and are currently making no expenditures. The programs of many older foundations were so disrupted by the war that expenditures currently reported are by no means representative — usually they were less than customary because of diminished staff and certain limits on opportunities, but in a few cases expenditures were heavier than ordinary because of special war demands. Even in normal times among foundations which attempt to spend all of current income, actual disbursements in a given year may be above or below the general average. Overbalancing the record in the plus direction are, first, foundations which are spending from capital, some of which are committed to a program for liquidation in a set term; second, the several which combine characteristics of a foundation and a collecting agency — for example, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis — and include as expenditure both income from endowment and receipts from current contributions.

RECORD OF THE LARGEST FOUNDATIONS

Although foundations in America may considerably exceed in number the half thousand reported in this study, the large majority of them have small capital assets. Table 7 presents figures for the 30 largest foundations for which financial statistics are available for publication, all but one of which report capital assets of 10 million dollars or more; but confidential and other information would place seven other foundations with capital assets of more than 10 million dollars in this list. While definite financial data are not available, the largest of these are probably the Hershey Fund, the Duke Endowment, the Arbuckle-Jamison Foundation, the James Foundation of New York, and the Surdna Foundation.

The very high concentration of foundation resources among a very few large foundations is made apparent by these summaries from our data on page 62.

SOME FINANCIAL QUESTIONS

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TABLE 7. CAPITAL ASSETS, TOTAL EXPENDITURE, AND GRANTS IN 1944 FOR 30 LARGEST FOUNDATIONS REPORTING FINANCIAL DATA FOR PUBLICATION

Foundation	Date founded	Capital assets	Expenditure		Grants	
			Amount	Per cent of assets	Amount	Per cent of assets
1. Rockefeller Foundation	1913	\$189,527,823	\$6,687,489	3.5	\$5,124,814	2.7
2. Carnegie Corporation	1911	166,506,401	6,298,443	3.8	5,890,215	3.5
3. Ford Foundation	1936	109,000,000	a	a	a	a
4. Board of Directors, City Trusts of Philadelphia ^b	1869	88,083,541	2,078,731	2.4	345,980	0.4
5. Hayden Foundation	1937	50,000,000	a	a	a	a
6. Kresge Foundation	1924	47,516,062	333,048	0.7	333,048	0.7
7. Kellogg Foundation	1930	46,825,011	1,706,721	3.6	1,138,324	2.4
8. Carnegie Institution	1902	43,884,844	1,239,196	2.8	a	a
9. Commonwealth Fund	1918	42,934,644	1,636,420	3.8	1,431,791	3.3
10. Mayo Properties Assn.	1919	28,299,596	850,721	3.0	355,676	1.3
11. Guggenheim (John Simon) Foundation	1925	19,460,932	235,057	1.2	159,200	0.8
12. Anderson Foundation	1936	17,587,175	246,324	1.4	235,235	1.3
13. Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching	1905	17,066,395	2,102,084	12.3	1,893,923	11.1
14. General Education Board	1902	16,103,357	7,314,045	45.4	7,114,486	44.2
15. New York Community Trust	1923	15,871,557	558,746	3.5	558,746	3.5
16. Markle Foundation	1927	15,755,396	595,974	3.2	434,971	2.8
17. Russell Sage Foundation	1907	15,000,000	570,000	3.8	140,000	0.9
18. El Pomar Foundation	1937	14,415,973	349,166	2.4	315,789	2.2
19. Jarvie Commonweal Service	1934	13,280,780	368,945	2.8	326,443	2.5
20. National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis ^b	1938	13,199,971	4,775,853	36.2	4,105,361	31.1
21. Buhl Foundation	1928	13,182,106	a	a	90,000	0.7
22. Juilliard Musical Foundation	1920	12,000,000	a	a	a	a
23. LeTourneau Foundation	1935	11,393,272	389,446	3.4	73,776	0.6
24. American Missionary Association	1846	11,311,349	861,365	7.6	783,803	6.9
25. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	1910	11,131,629	571,858	5.1	a	a
26. Nelson (W. R.) Trust	1926	11,000,000	331,082	3.0	0	0.0
27. Reynolds Foundation	1936	10,072,123	226,630	2.3	226,500	2.2
28. Hyams Trust	1921	10,000,000	415,710	4.2	415,710	4.2
29. Baptist Foundation of Texas	1930	10,000,000	318,410	3.2	a	a
30. Carnegie Hero Fund	1904	9,475,000	134,559	1.4	134,559	1.4

^a Data not available.

^b Calendar year, or fiscal year, ending in 1944. Exceptions: year ending May 31, 1945, for National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis; calendar year 1941 for Board of Directors, City Trusts of Philadelphia.

Among 250 foundations reporting for publication \$1,402,494,816 in assets, the 30 largest hold \$1,079,884,937, or 77 per cent. Of these, the 10 largest hold \$812,577,922, or 58 per cent.

Among 505 foundations holding reported and estimated assets of \$1,817,817,299, the 30 which are probably the largest (seven of these do not appear in the table) hold an estimated \$1,580,574,969, or 87 per cent. The 10 largest (the first eight from the table, plus estimated amounts for the Hershey Fund and Duke Endowment) hold an estimated \$868,343,682, or 48 per cent.

Whether we take published or estimated figures, the 10 largest foundations hold about half the assets of all foundations, and the 30 largest foundations hold from three-quarters to seven-eighths of all assets. The financial patterns of these foundations are largely controlling for the whole foundation field, not merely in the sense of leadership but through concentration of most of the total resources.

The 10 largest foundations in 1930¹ are not the 10 largest of 1944, but all except one are still within the list of 30. Table 8 compares their capitalizations and grants for 1930¹ and 1944.

It seems highly significant that at the end of this fourteen-year period the capital assets of these foundations remain, for the whole group, practically the same, but reported grants have diminished by more than 60 per cent.² The factor of greatest significance was the sharp decline in grants on the part of the General Education Board, which in 1930 had appropriated from principal more than 22 million dollars. In the case of several other foundations a decline can be attributed in part to an increased emphasis on operating programs at the expense of grants to outside agencies, but an important factor is undoubtedly reduced income from investments.

Further evidence on the effects of declining interest rates may be found in Table 7, by comparing capital assets with reported total expenditures for the 26 large foundations for which both items are supplied. Presumably all of these foundations endeavor to expend at least their income, though variations may exist in a particular year. Of the 26 foundations,

¹ As reported by *American Foundations and Their Fields*, edited by Evans Clark. Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1935, pp. 15, 17. Several foundations previously reported to be in this asset range do not appear in the revised tables published in 1935. Figures for General Education Board from original source in Tables 8 and 9.

² The shift in reporting on the part of the two foundations lowest in the list would not significantly affect the total.

TABLE 8. CAPITAL ASSETS AND GRANTS OF TEN LARGEST FOUNDATIONS OF 1930 IN THAT YEAR AND IN 1944

(Figures in thousands of dollars)

Foundation	Capital assets		Grants	
	1930	1944	1930	1944
Carnegie Corporation of New York	\$159,861	\$166,506	\$ 4,408	\$ 5,890
Rockefeller Foundation	142,676	189,528	15,782	5,125
General Education Board	93,936	16,103	29,787	7,114
Commonwealth Fund	42,951	42,935	2,096	1,432
Carnegie Institution of Washington	37,659	43,885	a	a
Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching	32,130	17,066	1,782	1,894
Russell Sage Foundation	15,549	15,000	663	140
Buhl Foundation	12,483	13,182	484	90
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	12,032	11,132	768	a
Milbank Memorial Fund	10,702	8,900	a	144
Total	\$559,979	\$524,237	\$55,770 ^b	\$21,829 ^b

^a Data not available.^b Incomplete.

SOURCE: See footnote 1, page 62.

4 spent at a rate of less than 2 per cent of capital assets; 16 fell between 2 and 4 per cent; 6 spent above 4 per cent, with one of these — General Education Board, which is in process of liquidation — spending at the rate of 45 per cent of reported remaining assets.

THE FLOW OF FOUNDATION FUNDS

Precise data on the growth of foundation assets, or the flow of funds to and from foundations, are not available. The Russell Sage Foundation began its descriptive series on foundations for social welfare in 1915, but did not include information on expenditures until the present survey. Eduard C. Lindeman's *Wealth and Culture* reported total disbursements for 100 selected foundations for 1921 through 1930; these total disbursements varied from a low of 36.3 million dollars in 1921 to a high of 83.7 million dollars for 1928, and totaled 518.4 million dollars for the ten-year period.¹ The Twentieth Century Fund series of reports, later continued by Raymond Rich Associates, began only in 1930, and are not strictly

¹ *Wealth and Culture*, pp. 134-135.

TABLE 9. CAPITAL ASSETS AND GRANTS OF FOUNDATIONS REPORTING IN SUCCESSIVE STUDIES, 1930 TO 1944

(Figures in thousands of dollars)

Year	All foundations reporting capital assets		Foundations reporting both capital assets and grants ^a			
	Number	Capital assets	Number	Capital assets	Grants	Grants as per cent of assets
1930	105	\$ 853,450	91	\$ 797,594	\$74,945	9.4
1931	105	770,863	102	757,878	54,604	7.2
1934	88	701,676	88	701,676	33,405	4.8
1937	120	945,611	101	855,761	35,139	4.1
1940	139	1,073,572	111	955,709	35,855	3.8
1944	265	1,431,553	154	1,079,703	40,957	3.8

^a Foundations making no grants are omitted in all years, and those making grants of less than \$1,500 are omitted in all but the first two years.

SOURCE: 1930 figures, from American Foundations and Their Fields, edited by Evans Clark, Twentieth Century Fund, 1931. 1931 figures, The Fund, 1932. 1934 figures, The Fund, 1935. 1937 figures from American Foundations and Their Fields, vol. 4, compiled by Geneva Seybold, Raymond Rich Associates, 1939. 1940 figures, Rich Associates, 1942. 1944 figures from reports to this survey; estimates not included.

comparable with this survey because of differences in definition and coverage. Nevertheless, with the reservations which have been suggested, Table 9, giving data from these various sources, does show certain important broad trends in the past fifteen years.

The decline in the value of total assets in the depression years was real, though less than might have been anticipated; it is here reflected by a difference of nearly 152 million dollars between 1930 and 1934 while the reporting foundations decreased from 105 to 88. The later increase to 1.4 billion dollars of reported capitalization has not been in proportion to the increase in number of foundations.

Much more significant are the figures on grants, which record an absolute decline of 34 million dollars between 1930 and 1944, among foundations increasing in aggregate assets by 282 million dollars. For these foundations the ratio of grants to assets has declined from 9.4 per cent in 1930 to 3.8 per cent in 1940 and 1944.

A closer analysis of the survey records on grants reveals that of the 205 foundations reporting on this subject for 1944, 34 reported making no grants, 103 made grants totaling \$50,000 or less, and 18 additional did not exceed \$100,000. Only 50 reported total grants of above \$100,000 for the year; of these, only 10 made grants totaling above \$700,000.

TABLE 10. THE TEN FOUNDATIONS REPORTING LARGEST EXPENDITURE FOR GRANTS IN 1944

General Education Board	\$7,114,486
Carnegie Corporation of New York	5,890,215
Rockefeller Foundation	5,124,814
National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis	4,105,361
Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching	1,893,923
Commonwealth Fund	1,431,791
Kellogg Foundation	1,138,324
Julius Rosenwald Fund	1,014,515
George F. Baker Charity Trust	814,775
American Missionary Association	783,803
Total	\$29,312,007

The total grants of these 10 foundations amounted to \$29,312,007, which is 69 per cent of the grants of all foundations reporting on grants. Of these 10, it might also be noted, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis is in a special category, scarcely to be considered a grant-giving foundation in the usual sense; and both the General Education Board and the Julius Rosenwald Fund are liquidating their capital so rapidly that it may be doubted whether either can long continue substantial grants. It is obvious that popular impressions of the grant-giving resources of foundations are much exaggerated, and that only a few foundations are any longer able to make grants of very substantial size without invasion of capital assets.

There are serious implications for foundation management in the 103 reporting foundations — and the many not reporting — limited to grants of less than \$50,000 a year. For the smaller funds much investigation of appeals received, particularly by a paid staff, becomes uneconomical and inefficient. By force of circumstance many such foundations act chiefly upon the charitable appeals which happen to reach them, and cannot achieve the directed, creative giving central to the idea of the American foundation. Many of these smaller perpetuities might be put to more constructive uses by combination into larger aggregates, possibly by employing skilled advisory service on a temporary basis, or by more substantial immediate expenditures of capital as well as income.

THE QUESTION OF PERPETUITY

The relation of expenditure to endowment is a major question facing every board of trustees except where the founder has set up rigid provisions in this respect. It is obvious that foundations may fall within any of four classifications: accumulating foundations, perpetuities, discretionary perpetuities, or liquidating funds. Originally, the intention of perpetuity was the almost universal characteristic of foundations, and it has even been proposed¹ that the title *foundation* be reserved for perpetuities, with *fund* applied to endowments whose principal may or must be spent. In the light of long history, all the "perpetual" foundations have sooner or later vanished in this changing world, and perpetuity as a principle has been seriously questioned.

Accumulating foundations. Many foundations endeavor to keep intact their principal, but a few go farther; for shorter or longer periods, they increase their original endowment by adding to it all or a portion of current income. The possibilities of compound interest over long periods are, on paper, fascinating, though it can be clearly demonstrated that the hopes so roused are based on an economic fallacy.

For example, let it be assumed that when Julius Caesar invaded Britain just 2000 years ago, he placed the equivalent of a single American dollar on interest, to be compounded annually at the rate of 5 per cent. Ten years later, at about the time of his death, it would have amounted to the modest sum of \$1.63. In 100 years, 45 A.D., it would have grown to only \$131.50. But in 500 years — 445 A.D. — it would have been something more than 39 billion dollars. In 1000 years its value could be expressed only by a figure 22 digits long; today, 2000 years later, the original dollar would theoretically have grown to a worth expressible only by 43 digits.

It is obvious that compound interest on any long-term fund would soon absorb all available investment opportunities, and long before that point was reached, society would find some way of limiting or liquidating it. Nevertheless, over shorter terms such accumulations have occurred, and the several examples in the foundation field are worth mentioning.

Benjamin Franklin's will set aside two funds, one in Boston and one in Philadelphia, of one thousand pounds sterling (\$5,000) to be lent to

¹ Keppel, *The Foundation*, p. 3.

"young married artificers" in three hundred dollar amounts at 5 per cent interest, this interest to be added to the principal for one hundred years for the larger portion (100/131) of the fund, and for two hundred years for the remainder. At the close of the stated periods, the accumulations were to be spent for suggested public works. The apprentice system died and there were soon no young married artificers to borrow the money, but the accumulating provision was continued through other investment. Neither accumulation met Franklin's hopes, but the Boston experience, out of which grew the Franklin Foundation and the Franklin Technical Institute, was the better of the two. At the end of the first hundred years, in July, 1891, the total fund had grown to \$391,169. But the money was not immediately spent, and when finally used to construct and equip Franklin Technical Institute, begun in 1906, expenditure of \$438,493 was possible. The second part is still in accumulation, until 1991, when it is to be divided between "the Town of Boston and the Government of the State." In June 1945, it amounted to \$868,733.

The Indenture of the Duke Endowment provides that 20 per cent of income "shall be retained by said trustees and added to the corpus of this trust as a part thereof for the purpose of increasing the principal of the trust estate until the total aggregate of such additions to the corpus of the trust shall be as much as Forty Million Dollars."

With the exception of the Duke Endowment, substantially all important modern foundations spend at least their income. This is not necessarily so in any one fiscal year, for appropriation dates vary and reserves against capital losses are sometimes set up, or earlier expenditures from capital in an emergency period are later recouped. But the weight of practice and of social thinking is clearly against suspension of present activities in favor of problematical future needs.

Perpetuities are foundations which may spend income but not principal. Many recent foundations are of this type, as were practically all of the narrow-purpose foundations of earlier history. Experience has shown perpetuity to be a relative term, and where this perpetuity has been applied not only to the organization but to narrowly defined purpose, inevitable changes in conditions and human needs have sometimes rendered such perpetuities useless or even harmful. Recent founders of perpetuities have usually taken this lesson to heart, and have allowed great

freedom to governing boards, to permit them to adjust program from time to time to changing needs.

Discretionary perpetuities is the name we have applied to those foundations and funds which are permitted to spend part or all of their principal, but are not enjoined to do so. The first such provision appears to have been made by George Peabody in his Letter of Gift setting up the \$2,000,000 Peabody Education Fund in 1867 "to aid the stricken South." To quote Mr. Peabody, "I furthermore give to you the power, in case two-thirds of the Trustees shall at any time, after the lapse of thirty years, deem it expedient, to close this Trust." This example was followed by the Rockefeller benefactions, and many others.

Foundations in this category have in practice pursued a variety of courses. A number have thus far maintained their principal intact. Among the Rockefeller benefactions, principal has frequently been expended; the Rockefeller Foundation has capital assets nearly as large as in its earlier history, but the General Education Board is in process of liquidation. The Horace H. Rackham and Mary A. Rackham Fund, established in 1934 with a capitalization of \$14,000,000, has now been entirely dissolved. Mr. Rackham's will permitted expenditure of capital as well as income, and the trustees decided that "the best methods of conserving the funds at their disposal would be to provide established agencies with permanent endowments and other facilities."¹

Liquidating funds are those in which complete liquidation is compulsory, usually within a stated period. The case against perpetuities has been stated by Turgot,² John Stuart Mill,³ Hobhouse,⁴ and many others, but seldom more forcefully than by Julius Rosenwald in his letter to the Board of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, accepted April 29, 1928:

I am not in sympathy with this policy of perpetual endowment, and believe that more good can be accomplished by expending funds as trustees find opportunities for constructive work than by storing up large sums of money for long periods of time. By adopting a policy of using the fund within this generation we may avoid those tendencies toward bureaucracy and a formal or perfunctory attitude toward the

¹ Horace H. Rackham and Mary A. Rackham Fund, 1934-1940. Published by the Trustees, Ann Arbor, 1940. Foreword.

² Œuvres. Librairie Felix Alcan, Paris, 1913, vol. 1, pp. 584-593.

³ Fortnightly Review, London, April, 1869.

⁴ The Dead Hand. Chatto and Windus, London, 1880.

work which almost inevitably develop in organizations which prolong their existence indefinitely. Coming generations can be relied upon to provide for their own needs as they arise.

In accepting the shares of stock now offered, I ask that the Trustees do so with the understanding that the entire fund in the hands of the Board, both income and principal, be expended within twenty-five years of the time of my death.¹

The force of Mr. Rosenwald's arguments and his own example have had undoubted effect, not only on donors of new foundations but upon trustee policies of some of the older ones where choice was possible. A few years after his action, the depression severely affected the holdings of many foundations, and the continuing decline in interest rates has further affected available income, combining to make perpetuity less attractive as a policy. The expenditure of capital, of course, releases very substantial sums for current use. For example, when Senator James Couzens accepted the Rosenwald philosophy and stipulated that the \$10,000,000 endowment of the Children's Fund of Michigan must all be spent within twenty-five years, actuaries estimated a level expenditure of \$700,000 a year, with total expenditure of \$17,500,000.

A great deal might be said on the other side of Mr. Rosenwald's argument that each generation can be relied upon to take care of its own needs. The history of the world has been to a considerable extent an effort on the part of each generation to contribute something to the next and later generations. One of the great incentives to accomplishment is the desire to pass on to others, including those who come after the donor, the fruits of his skills and his labors. We greatly treasure our heritage of fine arts, paintings, literature, music, sculpture, religion, philosophy, architecture, not to mention science and invention, which have been handed down both from the distant and recent past. No one would wish to liquidate these and trust to future generations to develop their own assets in these fields. Endowments of educational institutions, including the physical plants, are handed on from one period to the next as contributions to the wider spread of educational advantages and the greater enrichment of the cultural life of the future.

But no agreement has been reached on the relative merits of the two methods — the perpetuity with its greater stability, contributing to both

¹ Quoted in "Principles of Public Giving," in *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1929, p. 606.

present and future but in danger of obsolescence or ineffectiveness, and a policy of liquidation, making larger sums available for a brief term. Perhaps the prospective founder of endowed institutions of this kind will find his answer in the nature of his institution, the purposes to which its assets and income may be applied, and in the safeguards he will be able to set up against undesirable tendencies. A trend in recent years has seemed to be in the direction of allowing at least discretionary liquidation, but it is too early to think of this as pointing toward an established or necessarily desirable general policy.

INVESTMENTS

Plato's foundation had for its investment portfolio agricultural fields and cattle. Modern foundations weigh the relative advantages of bonds, government issues, preferred stocks, common stocks, loans, and real estate. This survey has attempted no analysis of foundation portfolios, and leaves to financial experts the difficult task of advice on what to invest in. We shall confine ourselves to certain aspects of general investment policy bearing on the special needs and purposes of foundations.

One of the first and most obvious of these questions is the relation between safety and income. A high degree of security in an investment is usually accompanied by a low rate of income, while if a high rate of income is sought in order to support a larger current program, the principal itself may be endangered. This inevitable dilemma faces every board of trustees in making the most of its endowment.

In practice, conservative policies are likely to prevail. Trustees are aware of the storm of public criticism which would fall upon them if a large part of the principal of a perpetuity were lost through unfortunate investment. The social losses through reduced income for useful service are not things which can be counted or measured. It should also be said that many donors have themselves set up severe restrictions within which the trustees must act. Moreover, during recent war years foundations have often considered as a part of their patriotic contribution a large investment in government issues which yield a low income. The rate of income on foundation investment is now at or near the lowest point in the history of foundations. Experience recently reported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, as reflected in Table 11, is probably typical.

Extreme examples in either direction can also be cited. Stephen Girard,

TABLE 11. INCOME AND YIELD PER CENT ON INVESTMENTS OF THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION, AT TEN-YEAR INTERVALS

Year	Endowment and legacy	Reserve	Income	Yield per cent
1912-1913	\$125,000,000	\$2,670,000	\$6,018,000	4.7
1922-1923	125,000,000	8,659,000	6,934,000	5.2
1932-1933	135,337,000	22,708,000	7,105,000	4.5
1942-1943	135,337,000	30,373,000	4,470,000	2.7

SOURCE: Report for 1942-1943. Carnegie Corporation of New York, New York, 1943.

setting up the provisions for Girard College in his will, provided in Article XX that "so far as regards my real estate in Pennsylvania . . . no part thereof shall ever be sold or alienated . . . but the same shall forever thereafter be let from time to time to good tenants, at yearly or other rents, and upon leases in possession not exceeding five years." Thirty years after his death the rich coal veins which underlay this land began to be mined, and the Board of Directors of City Trusts, City of Philadelphia, now counts the Girard trust worth about \$83,000,000.¹

The Rosenwald Fund had the severe experience of finding the market value of shares in which its endowment consisted dropping from close to \$200 per share in 1928 to a low of less than \$10 in 1932, with complete suspension of dividends.

Drastic as were the results of the depression upon foundation funds, we have not in this country experienced the devastating effects of a severe inflation or a lost war. Edwin Walter Kemmerer² cites a few foreign examples. The Pasteur Institute found its endowment after World War I reduced to less than 40 per cent of its prewar total. The Theresian Academy in Vienna, worth \$1,600,000 in 1914, found its assets valued at \$112 after stabilization. Dr. Stroof, of Germany, died in 1921 leaving 7,821,000 marks to the University of Frankfurt; on December 18, 1933, this endowment was worth less than .00001 mark in gold. The Rothschild-Goldschmidt Endowment of the University of Frankfurt, established in 1913 with a capital sum of one million marks, was listed in 1929 at 1.32 marks.

¹ Information from Department of Philanthropic Information, Central Hanover Bank and Trust Company, New York.

² "Endowments in Jeopardy," in *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1937.

What World War II has done to many foreign endowments, or what its final effect will be upon our own, is not yet ready for report.

Common stocks are appearing in increasing percentage in many foundation portfolios. This may represent a reaction against the exceedingly low income now available from high-grade bonds, or it may be a hedge against the possibility of dollar inflation. Current low yields of conservative investments are forcing a fresh consideration of the problem of safety *vs.* income, and apply a new and severe test to the principle of perpetual endowment.

SOCIAL POLICY IN INVESTMENTS

Foundation investment may need to be considered from aspects other than safety and income. For example, should a foundation make investments for social betterment which themselves produce income, as perhaps a housing development, in distinction from investments in securities intended to produce income alone? The question was foreseen and a policy established for one foundation as early as 1907.¹

I realize that investments for social betterment, even if producing some income, may not produce a percentage as large as that produced by bonds or like securities, and that the income of the Foundation might be therefore diminished by such investments. On the other hand, if I fail to give the Foundation powers in this respect it may be unable to initiate or establish important agencies or institutions. I decide to authorize the trustees of the Foundation to invest the principal of the fund, to the extent of not more at any one time than one-quarter² of its entire amount, directly in activities, agencies, or institutions established and maintained for the improvement of social and living conditions, provided that such investments shall, in the opinion of the trustees, be likely to produce an annual income of not less than three per cent.

Many foundations have followed a somewhat similar policy. The Lavanburg Foundation includes among its assets two model housing units. The many student loan funds, where interest is charged and a substantial effort is made to secure the return of the principal, may be

¹ Letter of Gift to the Trustees of the Russell Sage Foundation, from Margaret Olivia Sage, April 19, 1907.

² Later increased to one-half.

regarded as a very common example of combining philanthropy and investment.

The Rockefeller Foundation, however, "has consistently adhered to the policy of declining to make gifts or loans to individuals, to invest in securities which have a philanthropic rather than a business basis, to assist in securing patents or aiding altruistic movements which involve private profit. . . ."¹

Certain other types of investment are unwise, not for financial reasons, but because of effects on the foundation program or reputation. Obviously, no investment will be made in a business or enterprise generally regarded as anti-social. Also, any operating foundation having investments in, or whose executives have investments in or derive profits from, a business which is a subject of its surveys is in serious danger of having the objectivity of its findings challenged. Finally, as foundations increase common-stock holdings, which involve voting rights, the question will inevitably arise as to their responsibility for the personnel and social policies of the companies in which they have substantial power.

TAXATION

In general, foundations are exempt from taxation under provision of the Federal Revenue Act of 1934, Section 101, which excludes "corporations, and any community chest, fund, or foundation, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, and no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation." This applies not only to the income of the foundations themselves, but also to individual income contributed to such organizations.

Many foundations of recent origin include in their charters a statement of purpose which is the precise wording of the Federal Revenue Act, keeping the aim admirably broad and demonstrating their familiarity with the tax exemption provision, but yielding little clue as to the field of human welfare the donors propose to advance.

The past several years have seen a mushroom growth of "family" foun-

¹ Vincent, George E., *A Review for 1922. Rockefeller Foundation*, New York, 1922, p. 51.

dations, set up by living individuals or family groups as a corporate — and tax-exempt — channel for charitable contributions. Many of these are well run, and represent an advance toward more careful and creative giving.

A disturbing number of such "foundations," however, appear to have no headquarters other than the office of a law firm, to be modest to the point of complete silence about any program for social or public welfare, and indeed to be making no present contributions of any sort from their accumulated and accumulating wealth. A variety of abuses are here possible, which need investigation and remedy. For example, in most states it would seem to be possible for an individual or small group to contribute a large block of common stock of a closely held company to such a foundation, thereby securing income tax exemption for a charitable contribution — and thereafter, as executives of the foundation, continuing to vote and control that same stock.

First steps toward prevention of such situations might well be: (1) compulsory public reporting of financial and other operations of all tax-exempt foundations, and (2) limiting tax exemption to contributions to organizations with an active program for the social welfare.

The existing government limitation of tax exemption to contributions to organizations not engaging in legislative propaganda to any substantial extent, nor attempting to influence legislation, may seem salutary or dangerous, depending upon one's philosophy with respect to the scope and purpose of foundation action. Only a few foundations have actually fallen afoul of this provision; the Twentieth Century Fund was denied deductibility from 1935 to 1939, because of contributions in behalf of enabling laws for credit union extension. Nearly all other foundations have kept clear of this provision, though to what extent it may have limited their support of progressive legislation, or prevented consideration of programs they might have undertaken, is not publicly known. The tax-exempt status of the World Peace Foundation was challenged in 1925 on the ground of its activity in distribution of the League of Nations publications constituting a dissemination of "partisan propaganda." The original order, however, was rescinded in 1928, on the ground that the Foundation was in fact engaged in educational work and was not carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation. This experience points to the grave dangers to foundation programs which may lurk in any narrow interpretation of this provision.

[5]

FIELDS OF ACTIVITY

IT WOULD sometimes seem that mortal man does nothing so badly as his attempts to do good," said Arthur J. Todd in the introduction to *Intelligent Philanthropy*.¹ Julius Rosenwald once blandly remarked that it is "nearly always easier to make \$1,000,000 honestly than to dispose of it wisely,"² and Frederick P. Keppel reminded us of "the judgment of the French cynic that more harm is done in the world by the righteous than by the unrighteous, because the former are never restrained by the dictates of conscience."³

No one who has examined even cursorily the history of philanthropy escapes the conclusion that giving has frequently done harm, and that wise giving requires more than good intentions. Giving is both an art and a science, and it has been practiced well and badly in all ages. Motives of donors have been mentioned earlier; we are here concerned with methods. Because we are in an age which calls itself scientific, the effects of giving are examined with more care, and the trend is away from mere relief and toward research and education as measures aimed at prevention. Though well on its way already, this new era was advanced by the depression; when the volume of individual need became so vast that private philanthropy was helpless to meet it, public aid stepped in. Tax-supported public assistance and the social insurances now cover, at least in part, most of the basic needs which in the past were the largest fields for relief or "charity." Modern giving, freed from some of the most compelling burdens of individual suffering and need, may proceed with more freedom toward study, experiment, correction, cure, and prevention.

¹ Faris, Laune, and Todd (Editors), *Intelligent Philanthropy*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1930, p. 1.

² "The Burden of Wealth," in *Saturday Evening Post*, January 5, 1929, p. 13.

³ *The Foundation*, p. 52.

THE PLACE OF THE FOUNDATION

In this new era in giving, the foundation has a special place. In terms of comparative resources, it is not a large place. We have already seen that out of a possible 2,706 million dollars of annual philanthropic expenditure, foundations account for less than 3 per cent. But the foundation was created primarily as an instrument for wise giving. Henry S. Pritchett, late president of the Carnegie Foundation, said:

Perhaps unconsciously, but none the less truly, notable givers like Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Rockefeller were feeling for a science of giving to be exemplified in an agency which should itself be continuous and which should compare and study the numberless causes that appealed for aid from the standpoint of an impersonal scientific view of human efforts for betterment.¹

True, some donors with very definite ideas on the future needs of mankind have strictly limited the fields of permitted activity, sometimes disastrously. Such cases are widely publicized, but all of them together represent a very small proportion of available foundation funds. Practically all of the larger foundations have broad charters, with great freedom of choice. The programs of most foundations today are usually the result of careful selection, based on study and experience. Individual cases where these selections are influenced by pressure methods or personal caprice certainly exist, but the notable fact is the earnestness of most trustees and executives in seeking the most effective way to spend the millions in their custody.

Long experience has sometimes resulted in criteria for giving, which may be worth examining. Jerome D. Greene, testifying in 1915 before the Senate Commission on Industrial Relations, reported seven criteria which guided the early choices of the Rockefeller Foundation: individual charity and relief are excluded; purely local applications are excluded except when they may serve as models; local co-operation is a requisite; permanent obligations should not be assumed; gifts in perpetuity should be avoided; preference should be given to activities which go to the root of individual or social ill-being or misery; and projects should be well thought out and definite before presentation.²

¹ "The Use and Abuse of Endowments," in *Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1929.

² Industrial Relations. Senate Document No. 415, 64th Congress, 1st Session. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1916, vol. 9, p. 8139.

Robert W. de Forest, counsel to Mrs. Sage in instituting the Russell Sage Foundation, presented at the initial trustees' meeting in 1907 certain suggestions on scope, both negative and positive, which included: the Foundation should not attempt to relieve individual or family need, its function being to eradicate so far as possible the causes of poverty or ignorance; the importance on the one hand of study and investigation and on the other, of recording and publishing as steps toward the eradication of adverse social conditions is recognized; the sphere of higher education, served by universities and colleges, is not within its scope; effort to establish agencies for social welfare should be in response to local demand, or at least should not be continued unless there be local support; direct administrative action should be concentrated on what is clearly not being done at all or, if being done by others, is not being well done; no support should be given to agencies or institutions, however excellent their purpose, unless they are efficiently managed.¹

Said Mrs. Walter Graeme Ladd in 1930 in her letter of gift to the Josiah Macy, Jr., Foundation:

Experience seems to show that in an enlightened democracy, private organized philanthropy serves the purposes of human welfare best, not by replacing functions which rightfully should be supported by our communities, but by investigating, testing and demonstrating the value of newer organized ideas for sustained undertakings from which may gradually emerge social functions which in turn should be taken over and maintained by the public. I hope, therefore, that the Foundation will take more interest in the architecture of ideas than in the architecture of buildings and laboratories.²

Criteria from a slightly different point of view were announced by the Carnegie Corporation of New York in its 1933 Report as being used as tests in its selection of enterprises to support:

The idea, its intrinsic importance, its timeliness, its place in the broad objectives of the foundation;

The individual or group to carry out the work, and the facilities, institutional and other, at command;

The opportunities for oversight and review, and the chances that lessons useful elsewhere may be drawn from the experience;

¹ Taken from Confidential Bulletin No. 1, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1907.

² Josiah Macy, Jr., Foundation: Act of Incorporation and Mrs. Ladd's Letter of Gift. New York, 1930, p. 8.

The quality and weight of recommendation;
The evidence that the financial support of the foundation in question is really necessary.

The concern most foundations exercise not to influence the research findings their funds support is expressed in two of the 12 principles which guided the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial:

5. Not to attempt to influence the findings or conclusions of research and investigations either through the designation of personnel, specific problems to be attacked, or methods of inquiry to be adopted; or indirectly through giving inadequate assurances of continuity of support.
6. Not to concentrate too narrowly on particular research institutions, avoiding thereby the danger of institutional bias.¹

Some foundations do not find their field either in individual relief or the infinite diversity of possible study and research, but in education and interpretation. The W. K. Kellogg Foundation (established in 1930), looking back on its first eleven years, reported its choices in these words:

Research is of unquestioned value but support was already available for many worth-while projects. Relief is necessary but has come to be an accepted responsibility of government. Nothing seemed quite so important as finding ways and means to help the average citizen apply the knowledge that had already been won for him. . . . How could the Foundation best help these people to help themselves?²

WHAT THE QUESTIONNAIRE REVEALED

Preparatory to making this study a questionnaire was sent to all foundations, which included an inquiry as to fields of activity. For simplicity, only nine major classifications (in addition to miscellaneous) were used. It was recognized that no classification system could be completely logical, or could wholly avoid overlappings. These categories were adopted, after considerable study, for their practical usefulness with respect to foundations. Certain subclassifications of these major fields were also introduced, regarding which information seemed important. Foundation

¹ Final Report, Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, New York, 1933, p. 15.

² The First Eleven Years. W. K. Kellogg Foundation, Battle Creek, 1942.

executives were asked to check any classification or subclassification to which "15 per cent or more of the year's efforts or expenditures" had been devoted.

Table 12 presents the results of this inquiry by broad categories. Detailed lists of the foundations in particular fields, and in the subclassifications, are presented in Chapter 8, Classified Listings. Because many foundations reported more than one field of interest, the same name may appear in the Listings under several headings.

TABLE 12. CLASSIFICATION OF 335 FOUNDATIONS REPORTING FIELDS OF INTEREST FOR 1944

Field	Number	Per cent
Education	163	48.7
Social welfare	150	44.8
Health	129	38.5
Recreation	51	15.2
Religion	37	11.0
International relations	26	7.8
Race relations	26	7.8
Government and public administration	19	5.7
Economics	19	5.7
Miscellaneous	12	3.6

A total of 335 foundations returned questionnaires in the prepared form or otherwise supplied information adequate for classification. The surprisingly large total of 171 of these foundations, a trifle over half, checked one classification only as absorbing as much as 15 per cent of their expenditures during the year under review. The average number of classifications and subclassifications was 2.5; a few foundations — usually the smaller ones — selected as many as 16 classifications and subclassifications, obviously violating the 15 per cent restriction. Clearly, most foundations, however broad their charters, nevertheless are concentrating their activities.

Education

Education was selected by 163 foundations (48.7 per cent) as a field of substantial interest, and of these, 48 checked education, or its subclassifica-

tion scholarships, fellowships, and student loans, as their only substantial interest. Moreover, foundation executives checking the questionnaire were asked not to include under this heading contributions to specialized education, such as medical colleges; therefore the number of foundations contributing to education in all forms is even larger than the list would indicate.

On the other hand, this list does include funds devoted solely to scholarships, fellowships, and student loans if they are of substantial size and do not limit their contributions to single institutions. Among the 69 names within this special subclassification, 18 are purely loan or scholarship funds which in some earlier studies have either been omitted or presented in a listing separate from the more general foundations.

It remains evident that education in its various aspects commands an exceedingly large share of total foundation interest and funds. Activities of particular foundations within this field may be discovered by referring to the Descriptive Directory.¹ These activities include student aid, both in general and in highly specialized fields; assistance to teachers through salary supplement, retirement allowances, and study grants; subsidies to educational institutions, but with fewer contributions to building and endowment funds than formerly and more contributions for research in particular fields; and research and experiment in general educational theory and practice.

Social Welfare

Social welfare ranked second in number of foundations checking it as an area of major interest, with 150 foundations (44.8 per cent) included. It was substantially ahead of health for second position, but a closer inspection of the two categories suggests that health is still ahead of social welfare in concentration of funds. Moreover, social welfare as a term has certain catchall characteristics, and may have been checked by some foundations which had difficulty in classifying their activities. Contributions to war-centered agencies, common in foundation programs in 1944, were probably listed under this category, and helped to swell its total.

Forty-four foundations indicated social welfare or one of its three subclassifications — child welfare, family welfare, and relief — as their sole

¹ See Chapter 7.

substantial interest. Thirty-four of these checked the general classification, social welfare. Four — the American Children's Fund, the Ehrmann Foundation, the Heckscher Foundation, and the Selmen Winter Foundation — checked child welfare. Five — the Baird Foundation, Foster Foundation, Jarvie Commonweal Service, Pilgrim Foundation, and the Frederick and Amelia Schimper Foundation — checked relief. It is noteworthy that only the Kenosha Foundation marked the important field of family welfare as its sole area of substantial interest, although 32 foundations apparently devote considerable attention to this area.

Names of foundations are listed under these various headings in Chapter 8, and reports of their individual activities appear in the Descriptive Directory, Chapter 7. Because of the breadth of social welfare as a classification, these activities are exceedingly varied, ranging from the building of wading pools for children to the awarding of hero medals, individual relief, broad programs of child welfare, and social research.

Health

Traditionally, health has vied with education for first position in foundation interest. Although in this survey it ranks only third in the number of foundations checking it as a major concern — 129 foundations, or 38.5 per cent — its position in available funds is certainly higher. Among the foundations in the health field are such large ones as the Rockefeller Foundation and the Commonwealth Fund; moreover, 40 foundations selected health, or its subclassifications mental hygiene and the handicapped, as their sole major interest, and it may be presumed that substantially their whole income is devoted to this interest.

Activities in the field of health include actual treatment of disease in a few cases, hospitals and hospitalization, medical research, medical education, public health, and preventive education. A few of the foundations in this field, such as the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, operate only partly on income from endowment, but largely from current public contributions; for this reason total expenditure of this group of organizations is considerably larger than might have been anticipated from their endowment.

Twenty-five foundations checked mental hygiene as a subclassification of substantial interest. Because of war factors, we introduced into this study a special subclassification, the handicapped; the surprising total of 37 foundations indicated it as a substantial interest in 1944.

Recreation

As indicated, education, social welfare, and health claim the major part of foundation interest. Only scattered attention is given to the remaining fields. Among these recreation comes first, with 51 foundations, or 15.2 per cent. A considerable number of the organizations which checked recreation are community trusts, disbursing funds set aside for parks and playgrounds. The subclassification aesthetics includes a number of interesting foundations set up for quite specific purposes; out of the 23 foundations checking this heading, 10 record it as their sole major interest — with art fostered by the Bache Foundation, Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, Nelson Trust, and the Louis Comfort Tiffany Foundation; architecture by the American Architectural Foundation; music the special province of the Griffith Music Foundation, Juilliard Musical Foundation, and the Kathryn Long Trust; and the new Saxton Memorial Trust supporting literature, with the Danks Foundation shortly to offer awards in several of the arts.

Religion

Religion claims a total of 37 foundations, 11 per cent, six of which call it their sole major interest. It should of course be remembered that ecclesiastical foundations which lack separate organization or operate within a single religious group are excluded from this list, which would otherwise be much longer. Activities of the foundations listed include promotion of particular teachings (example, the Swedenborg Foundation), the propagation of a particular faith at home or abroad, religious education of the clergy or of the laity.

International Relations

International relations claims 26 foundations, with the Coolidge Foundation (interest, South East Asia), the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, and the World Peace Foundation operating exclusively in this area. A substantial group of these foundations have been set up to promote better relations between the United States and one other country or cultural group, for example, the American-Scandinavian Foundation, Belgian American Educational Foundation, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Kosciuszko Foundation. Another group are specifically interested in the problems of peace, notably the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Church Peace Union, the World Peace Foundation. Others

promote foreign scholarships or have a wide variety of interests in the world community.

Race Relations

Race relations were indicated as an area of interest by 26 foundations, none of which marked this topic as its sole major interest. Race problems in general and problems facing Negroes, Jews, and other minority groups are among the announced subjects in the reported programs for study and action.

Government and Public Administration

Government and public administration claimed considerable attention from only 19 foundations, but four of these checked it as their sole important interest — the Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation, Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust, Spelman Fund of New York, and the Charles Fremont Taylor Trust. The subclassifications revealed a surprising dearth of interest on the part of foundations; only the American Missionary Association, the Haynes Foundation, and the Russell Sage Foundation checked city and regional planning. Only six foundations reported devoting as much as 15 per cent of income in 1944 to the important field of housing, with the Lavanburg and Pierce foundations making it their central concern. This small interest may be in part a reflection of war conditions, which have interrupted all but emergency housing operations.

Economics

Even more surprising was the general dearth of foundation interest in the broad field of economics, checked by only 19 foundations (5.7 per cent) as pre-empting 15 or more per cent of income, and by only five of these as their major interest. These were the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation, financing general economic research, the Lincoln and Therese Filene Foundation, the Schalkenbach Foundation (single tax), and the Altman and Harbison-Walker foundations, concerned chiefly with employe welfare. Thirteen foundations checked the general economics classification; three of these and six others listed themselves also under the subclassification workers, wages, and conditions of employment. Programs included general research as well as specific economic problems such as unemployment; popular education in economics (no-

tably the Sloan Foundation); and programs directed toward employee relations and welfare.

Miscellaneous

An additional group of 12 foundations specified interests which could not be included, even under broad definition, in any of the nine specific classifications already discussed. In several instances these interests are outside the areas considered in this volume, but the foundations were included because other of their interests are in the broadly defined field of social welfare. Research in pure science is part of the program of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The Field Foundation is interested, among other things, in the scientific polling of public opinion. The Milbank Memorial Fund and the Scripps Foundation are both studying population. Animal welfare and wild life conservation interest the Latham Foundation and the Edward K. Love Conservation Foundation. The Pack Forestry Foundation is sufficiently described by its name, the Barnes Foundation includes in its program arboriculture and horticulture, the Carver Foundation, agricultural and industrial research, the National Farm Youth Foundation, farm management, the Hayes Foundation supports historical research, the Viking Fund reports interest in anthropology.

In addition, 29 foundations which answered the questionnaire with some fullness were in the process of organization or were changing programs, so that it was not possible to classify them; a total of 141 foundations refused all information, or failed to answer our repeated letters. Their corporate names are nevertheless listed in the Descriptive Directory, but are not included in the classified section.

A COMPARISON WITH EARLIER DATA

Notable changes have occurred through recent decades in the flow of foundation funds and in the categories of foundation interest. More definite information on these changes could be presented if the various recent studies had been conducted on identical bases and with an agreed system of classification. This has not been the case.

Classification of financial data has been particularly difficult. Is a \$500 grant for a fellowship in taxation to be classified under education, or economics, or government and public administration? Because of such

difficulties, many foundation executives have refused to break down their expenditures into categories, and skepticism exists on the consistency of financial data which have been furnished. For these reasons, and because the year under study was a war year when types of expenditures would in any case be abnormal, no effort was made in this study to record dollar expenditure in various categories.

However, some comparisons with earlier studies may be interesting, if it is understood that statistical accuracy is not possible and that only the broadest conclusions are tenable.

In his study covering expenditures of 100 foundations for the decade 1921 through 1930 Lindeman¹ put expenditures for education at 43 per cent of total foundation expenditures. The Rich Associates analysis,² based on 1940 figures, puts educational expenditure at only 31 per cent (29 per cent education, 2 per cent humanities). Our present study does not tabulate expenditures, but ranks education first among number of foundations expressing marked interest.

Lindeman ranked health second with 33 per cent of expenditures. Rich put "medicine and public health" at 30 per cent, to which should doubtless be added a portion of the 9 per cent indicated for "physical and biological sciences." Our study indicates 129 foundations in this field, bringing it close to second place.

Social welfare was a poor third in the Lindeman findings, at 14 per cent of total expenditures. The comparable Rich figure is the sum of three classifications, social welfare, child welfare, and social sciences; together, they accounted for 17 per cent of expenditures. Our study put social welfare in second place, with 150 foundations checking it as a major interest. Since, however, this classification is something of a catchall for many small foundations, social welfare does not maintain this position in regard to funds expended. Inasmuch as the large foundations devote more of their funds to education and health than to social welfare, in the matter of expenditures social welfare undoubtedly falls to third place.

All studies agree that these three classifications are the only areas of substantial foundation interest. According to Lindeman, no other subject category accounted for more than 1.6 per cent of foundation expenditure, and all others together — including 3.1 per cent for adminis-

¹ *Wealth and Culture*, p. 20.

² *American Foundations and Their Fields*, vol. 5, p. 37.

tration — only 10 per cent. According to Rich, all other categories, including 3 per cent for religion, totaled only 13 per cent. In our study the three major classifications were checked by 442 foundations (including duplications); the remaining seven classifications, by only 190.

SOME EFFECTS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The pattern of wartime service of the foundations is clear in its general outlines. With executives so generally in the higher age groups, the management personnel has not been seriously affected by Selective Service, but foundations have contributed much of their most highly trained research personnel to wartime agencies, much of it on a voluntary basis.

Long-term projects of importance were continued where possible, but usually with reduced staffs and under special difficulties. According to one foundation executive, "fundamental research is in fact today a mere trickle compared with the mighty stream it formerly was."¹ On the other hand specific research projects having direct relation to the war were tremendously speeded, often with the aid of foundation funds and personnel. A recent Year Book of the Carnegie Institution of Washington states: "The total research effort of the Institution is increased; in fact, measured in rate of expenditure, it is over twice as large as in the years just prior to the war. Results of value are indeed being attained, but they are nearly all of a confidential nature, reported currently to the armed services, but not publicly."²

Scholarships, fellowships, and loan funds were largely dormant, for, as one such fund reports, "the war has eliminated almost entirely the need for loans going to young men." Foreign scholarships and fellowships practically disappeared. On the other hand, the Kosciuszko Foundation reported aid to refugee scholars. Many such funds were accumulating the resources ordinarily used for scholarships to meet the extra demands expected at the close of the war.

Requests for aid from ordinary or accustomed sources decreased, as has usually been the case in war years. The Carnegie Corporation of New York reported that during three war years such requests declined from the former level of 1,257 to only 478. The Duke Endowment was able to report for 1943 that "the income level of a large segment of the popula-

¹ Raymond B. Fosdick in Report for 1943, Rockefeller Foundation, p. 15.

² Year Book No. 42, 1942-1943, p. 3.

tion has been raised and the charity load at assisted hospitals in North Carolina and South Carolina was at an 18-year low point in 1942." But the cost of ordinary programs increased "about 15 per cent" according to the Foster Foundation, and several foundations found portions of their regular programs blocked by "inability to build any structure," "curtailment of staff due to the war," and "transportation difficulties" — the last named causing abandonment of certain art classes for children.

A notable change in the distribution of foundation funds has been the very great flow of contributions to war-centered agencies such as the American National Red Cross and the National War Fund. This signifies no alteration in the general policy of most foundations against such grants, however; many foundations in reporting them have added such explanations as "temporary support," "out-of-program grants," and "in normal times these are not acceptable applications."

The most significant trend of all, however, has been the reorientation of research projects or research personnel into direct wartime service. The Milbank Memorial Fund reported "research work, particularly in nutrition and population, has been widely expanded." The Phelps-Stokes Fund aided in "organizing and financing a Committee on Negro Americans in Defense Industries." The Cleveland Foundation aided an Emergency Child Care Committee. The Commonwealth Fund redirected its program of medical research to emphasize aviation medicine, control of infectious diseases, and shock. The John and Mary R. Markle Foundation reported six appropriations in support of the teaching of tropical medicine. A small research appropriation of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1936 grew under war pressures into the vast penicillin projects of today. Practically every foundation report had its similar story to tell of efforts in its field of special competence directed toward the needs of the armed services or the home front.

A growing emphasis in these programs was postwar planning. The Twentieth Century Fund "has placed major emphasis on problems of the postwar period, including surveys of the country's postwar needs and resources, and of financial, housing, labor, trade, and other major readjustment problems." The Russell Sage Foundation's war-centered activities included studies of relief and rehabilitation abroad and an employment study. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace emphasized public education "on postwar problems and reconstruction, including necessity of international organization." Similarly, the Wood-

row Wilson Foundation inaugurated a program of education "leading toward a better understanding of the problems involved in the establishment of a general international organization" and has set up a Postwar Collection in its library. The George Robert White Fund voted the establishment of a war memorial and recreation center in the city of Boston as its postwar project. The Sloan Foundation sponsored an Institute on Postwar Reconstruction at New York University. The Falk Foundation reported that "the majority of the economic research studies now being financed deal primarily with problems of demobilization and economic reconstruction after the war."

Traditionally, foundations have been organized to conduct necessarily slow, methodical, undramatic research looking toward the future rather than to engage in aggressive, immediate action. It has therefore been especially appropriate that during the feverish war years, when most men and agencies were able to spare little time or thought for any needs beyond the pressing present, the foundations characteristically took the longer view and performed a large share of the vital planning for the years ahead.

[6]

TRENDS AND POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENTS

THE LONG history of foundations has been exceedingly chequered. They have sprung up in various centuries, under a variety of auspices, for widely differing purposes, and sometimes they have been completely wiped out in a whole nation or a whole civilization. As earlier chapters have indicated, the foundation as we in America understand it is largely a new thing, an invention of the twentieth century, that latest half minute of historical time. Even within this brief period, its characteristics have changed, and are changing.

In the light of such a history, it would be rash indeed to venture upon any far prophecy of the future of this type of institution. Nevertheless it may be possible, and useful, to examine certain trends as they now exist, and to point to certain fields which seem open to exploration and development.

SOME ECONOMIC TRENDS

In the early years of this century, the largest foundations were an outgrowth of individual fortunes won from steel, oil, and finance. Fortunes establishing more recent foundations have had a wider variety of source — automobile manufacture, the tobacco industry, chain stores, production of breakfast foods, various extractive industries, and many others — but with the probable exception of contributions from the automobile industry, gifts for single foundations have been considerably less than in the period before 1925. Social pressures and the progressive income tax, particularly at the increased rates of recent years, have tended strongly against large individual accumulations.

Table 13 and Chart II present data on the changes up to 1942 in the number of million-dollar incomes since the introduction of the federal income tax in 1914:

TABLE 13. NUMBER OF FEDERAL INCOME-TAX RETURNS WITH NET INCOME OF \$1,000,000 OR OVER, BY YEARS, 1914 TO 1942

1914	60	1921	21	1928	511	1935	41
1915	120	1922	67	1929	513	1936	61
1916	206	1923	74	1930	150	1937	49
1917	141	1924	75	1931	77	1938	57
1918	67	1925	207	1932	20	1939	45
1919	65	1926	231	1933	50	1940	52
1920	33	1927	290	1934	33	1941	57
						1942	40 ^a

^a Preliminary report.

SOURCE: U.S. Treasury Dept., Statistics of Income for 1942, Part I. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1944, pp. 33-34.

Of the larger foundations reporting in our present survey, a total of 11 foundations established in the first quarter of this century have capital assets of 15 million dollars or more each; only 5 founded since 1925 appear in that list of larger institutions.¹ Confidential data would add several large foundations for each period, but would not materially change the relationship. The day of the establishment of very large foundations in any considerable numbers by single donors seems to be passing.

On the other hand, the high rate of taxation on incomes in the upper brackets has stimulated charitable contributions, at least up to the amount of permitted deductions. Some of these contributions are channeled into family foundations, advantages and dangers of which have already been discussed. Such accumulations over a period of years may become very large.

The community trust, a device for combining smaller sums, has shown new vitality in recent years, and the total resources of such trusts are now rated at about 67 million dollars. In Rochester, New York, the community chest — in most cities an organization which merely centralizes annual appeals for local charitable purposes and disburses its income annually — has organized a trust department in which 43 separate funds are now combined, functioning in this respect as a local foundation of the community trust type.

A further possibility which has been widely overlooked is the use of existing foundations as agencies for accumulation and disbursement of

¹ Listed in Table 7, p. 61.

new funds. Nearly all foundations are permitted by their charters to accept additions, though in the past very few of them have received such funds except from the original donor. A prospective giver desiring to advance a certain kind of work, but having available a gift not large enough to warrant setting up a separate foundation, could contribute to

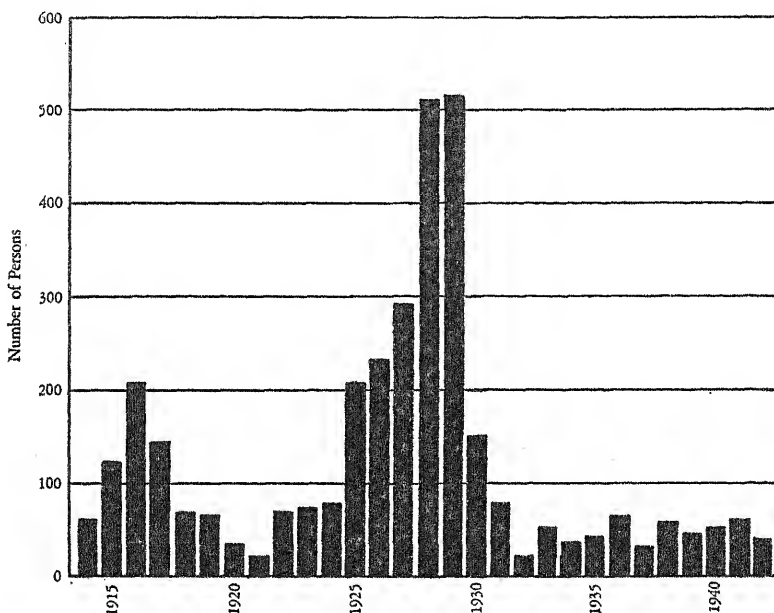


CHART II. NUMBER OF FEDERAL INCOME-TAX RETURNS WITH NET INCOME OF \$1,000,000 OR OVER, BY YEARS, 1914 TO 1942

the endowment, or the operating funds, of an existing foundation in whose work and management he has confidence. If desired, the new fund could maintain its identity in name, but through such combination avoid separate costs for management and operation, thus contributing to the greater efficiency of both funds.

If—as seems probable—low rates of interest persist, the establishment of new foundations of the perpetual trust type may become less attractive, for the expendable annual income will be too small for any but the largest funds to warrant separate organization. The continuance of low interest rates is likely to accentuate two trends already in evidence,

the combination of many smaller sums into a larger fund, and expenditure of capital as well as income.

EXPANSION OF GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

Just over a decade ago, in 1935, the Social Security Act in its first form was passed. That Act, with its later revisions and related provisions for assistance services and social insurances, has brought within the orbit of federal and state government responsibility great areas of basic need which formerly were left to the scattered attention of private philanthropy. This scattered attention included heavy pressure upon foundations — for actual relief, for investigations into social conditions, for experimental programs and advisory service.

We do not yet have a "cradle to grave" security program, and even the adoption of the most comprehensive of present proposals would not remove the need for private philanthropy to take care of many exceptional cases and to assume pioneering research, experimentation, and other leadership on questions of policy, scope, and methods. Nevertheless the changes which have occurred within a decade are revolutionary in nature and extent, and will affect the programs of existing and future foundations.

In particular, direct relief has become less necessary. Few foundation executives have ever thought this a suitable field for activity in view of their relatively limited resources and the special responsibility felt by citizens and community for meeting these neighborly emergencies themselves. Nevertheless such needs are so humanly appealing that some endowments still devote to them a considerable portion of their funds. Relief-giving even by these foundations may be expected to diminish as a result of expansion of governmental functions and the newer concept of the most suitable fields for foundation service.

In research a new era of governmental expansion seems to be upon us. Some growth had been apparent before the war in connection with extension of governmental services, but the war itself was a stimulant of tremendous power. Wartime research expenditures are estimated in round figures at about four billion dollars, resulting in outstanding achievements, of which the most spectacular was the atomic bomb. In the light of these accomplishments, it seems likely that the future federal budget will provide a very substantial item for continuing research.

As we go to press, a proposal for a National Research Foundation is before the Congress in the form of several bills. These are based upon the earlier Report to the President¹ by Dr. Vannevar Bush, director of the wartime Office of Scientific Research and Development. The vast scope of this proposal is evident in Dr. Bush's recommendation that an original non-earning capitalization of 500 million dollars be set up for the Foundation, and in his suggested budget for both the initial year and the fifth year "when it is expected that the operations would have reached a fairly stable level."

Activity	Millions of dollars	
	First year	Fifth year
Division of Medical Research	\$5.0	\$20.0
Division of Natural Sciences	10.0	50.0
Division of National Defense	10.0	20.0
Division of Scientific Personnel and Education	7.0	29.0
Division of Publications and Scientific Collaboration	.5	1.0
Administration	1.0	2.5
	<hr/> \$33.5	<hr/> \$122.5

It will be observed that the proposed annual expenditure of this research foundation of 122.5 million dollars is 70 per cent more than the estimated *total* annual expenditures of all the private foundations in the United States. Moreover, this foundation is proposed for merely "the natural sciences, including biology and medicine." "Progress in other fields," adds Dr. Bush, "such as the social sciences and the humanities, is likewise important; but the program for science presented in my report warrants immediate attention."²

If federal funds for research become available on a scale at all approaching this proposal, foundation contributions in some fields, notably medicine, may be dwarfed by federal grants. It is also being proposed that the National Research Foundation, when created, be broadened to include the social sciences. If done, and even if done generously, this will not mean that foundation funds will no longer be needed, but it may result in a considerable reorientation of foundation interests. It is even possible

¹ Bush, Vannevar, *Science: The Endless Frontier*. Government Printing Office, Washington, July, 1945.

² *Ibid.*, p. v.

that foundations with research programs may find their own funds, dwindling from diminished income rates, augmented by federal grants.

NEW FIELDS FOR EXPLORATION

The fields which foundations may profitably explore in the future are limited only by their resources and the foresight of foundation executives and their advisers. Mr. Keppel foresaw the foundation as a risk-taking agency, one of the very few organizations in society which could afford "the risk of being called impractical and visionary, of waiting till the Greek Kalends for results, the risk of making mistakes, even costly ones, in the hope of ultimately contributing something of value to mankind."¹ Certainly the continuity and independence of foundations would seem to lay upon them a special responsibility for taking the long view, and for dealing with problems whose treatment is neither popular, and thus easily supported, nor likely to be handled by other agencies, nor capable of quick or easy solution.

Studies in public administration seem to beckon for increased foundation attention. Multiplication of governmental agencies and services may lead to serious dangers in a democracy unless critical and independent report and advice on the work of these agencies is somewhere provided. Foundations do not need to collect funds or maintain memberships, and therefore can be and are remarkably free from the influence of pressure groups and party politics. They are in an unusually favorable position for conducting impartial studies of the operation of public agencies, and for doing pioneering research into new methods or new areas of need, for which a public agency could not itself, and should not, obtain tax funds until the promising character of the method was demonstrated or the need established.

A second opportunity just now opening to foundations is international. The machinery of the United Nations as now set up envisages an Economic and Social Council, with power to "make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters."² At the outset the international machinery is likely to prove unwieldy and slow, and funds will scarcely be

¹ Report for the Year Ended September 30, 1933. Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1933, p. 12.

² Charter of the United Nations, Chapter X, Article 62. The Department of State Bulletin, Washington, June 24, 1945, p. 1128.

available for much of the early needed research. One or several foundations might render outstanding service to the advance of knowledge and to international understanding by undertaking some of the more urgent research problems. Experience of the Rockefeller Foundation in its foreign health services and of the International Labour Office suggest how valuable, from several points of view, such efforts may prove.

Many foundations have included scholarships and fellowships as a part of their program, and a few of these have stressed international exchange of scholars. The Rockefeller Foundation alone has aided this international migration by fellowships and visiting professorships extended to 7,500 individuals at a cost estimated at 20 million dollars.¹ Great as is the gain to scholarship from such cross-culturization, it may also be important with a view to the future peace of the world. Perhaps additional foundations will find means, not only for the exchange of scholars, but for improving understanding among all the peoples of the world through stimulation of foreign travel by the common man, through greater interchange of books, through international radio and television, and other appropriate methods.

It is probable that foundations in the future will tend toward specialization in certain large areas even more than they have in the past, though it remains desirable for their charters to be flexible and broad. In practice, resources are not inexhaustible, and intense, expert cultivation of a small field is often more rewarding than superficial attention to a larger one. Executives, moreover, are able to build upon past experience, making their use of funds more effective through a better knowledge of opportunities, and of the capacities of persons and agencies operating in the field.

It is perhaps significant that of the number of foundations classifiable by the data submitted in this survey (about two-thirds of the whole number reporting) 171, or 51 per cent, listed one classification only as absorbing as much as 15 per cent of their 1944 expenditure. This is despite the fact that most foundations operate under charters broad enough to include many or all of the nine special subject groups in our questionnaire. Increase in specialization also reduces the dangers of duplicated effort, although in the fields of social well-being this is not very serious. Many people and agencies working in important areas of social concern and

¹ Letter of May 18, 1945, from Raymond B. Fosdick.

even on single important problems may prove to be greatly in the public interest.

Countless specific areas of study — early discovery of human genius, rural life, constructive patterns of living for the aged, to name a few — have been suggested at various times for foundations. A glance at the activities listed in the Descriptive Directory that follows reveals how varied the present activities of foundations are, and suggests that the future will find them no less so. The most any prediction can safely venture is to point out a few broad trends and tendencies, while remembering that even these may not prove valid for the long term.

METHODS OF OPERATION

In addition to areas of operation, we need to consider some broad questions of method. Within the field of medicine, for example, a foundation might pay doctor bills for impoverished individuals, or conduct research into the cause, treatment, and prevention of a disease, or educate the general public concerning health measures. In nearly every area of foundation interest, these three broad avenues of approach are available — individual aid, scientific research, and public education.

Foundations still dispensing individual aid are usually local, or connected with a special industry and for the benefit of employees and their families, or they are scholarship funds. It has long been agreed that the relatively small total resources of foundations could have no substantial direct effect upon human want, and can find more constructive channels of expenditure; within the last decade expansion of governmental services to cover many of these needs has strengthened this position. Contributions to the National War Fund, American National Red Cross, and similar agencies, which have been heavy in the past few years, are emergency measures which will scarcely affect the long-term trend of foundations away from individual aid.

Traditionally, scientific research has been central to the program of most foundations. Sometimes the foundation has set up its own staff of investigators and fact-finders; but frequently it has made grants to other agencies to initiate, or merely to expand or continue, research projects and demonstrations. Discoveries in the physical and natural sciences, particularly in medicine and public health, have been concrete, and often spectacular; such results, winning wide public acclaim, encourage addi-

tional expenditures in the same fields. This fact has become apparent in our analysis of present fields of operation.

Research in the social sciences is an area presenting more problems and greater risks; hence it has been entered upon with more caution by most boards of trustees. "The average man," says Mr. Keppel, "is far from comfortable in the presence of any deep-lying social problems, and in no mood to contribute towards their solution by supporting the very steps he extols when they are applied to problems in the natural sciences."¹ It would be strange if foundation boards were immune to this discomfort, particularly in the light of the public controversy which has frequently been stirred up as a result of certain social or economic research projects, although not all studies in these areas are especially controversial. Few foundations reporting in this study have indicated activity in such areas as economics or industrial relations, and only a small proportion of those classified under social welfare actually undertake deep-reaching research into the underlying problems of society. Despite this record and the obvious obstacles, the need is so great, and the foundation so well suited to the task through its peculiarly independent position, that studies and work in the nature of fundamental social research will in all probability engage an increasing amount of foundation support and attention in the future.

The third method of applying foundation funds to public need is by public education, in the broadest sense of the term. Foundations have always acknowledged the necessity to announce their discoveries, which has traditionally been done through published volumes, scientific papers, lectures, conferences, and consultations. But increasingly it has been recognized that in a democracy even the established and announced social fact may have little effect until it has been accepted by a substantial portion of the population. This severe cultural lag between discovery and constructive social action is perhaps the chief factor in a new emphasis in recent years, among many foundations, upon public education.

A director of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace recently reported to his board (in this case with respect to international relations), "There has developed a greater need for clarification than for research in order to prevent an utter confusion in the public mind." Sev-

¹ *Philanthropy and Learning, with Other Papers*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1936, p. 27.

eral foundations are spending half or more of their incomes on programs of bringing their findings to the public, with a few devoting total resources to public education.

To what extent this new emphasis is wise and in the public interest remains to be determined. One decisive factor will be the ability of the formulators of foundation policy to draw the very fine line between attempts to direct or control opinion, which are dangerous; and making generally available the facts that are basic to the formation of intelligent public opinion, which is needed.

THE QUESTION OF PUBLIC CONTROL

Foundations are clearly affected with the public interest. Functions which they once performed have in many cases been taken over by federal or local government, and many of their present demonstration programs may lead to governmental programs in the future. However carefully they may avoid overt attempts to "influence legislation" — with the Bureau of Internal Revenue not unremembered — it is inevitable that the results of foundation research will sooner or later affect public policy. Over organizations exercising influence of this kind, should there be a greater degree of public control?

In the early days of foundations in America there was much controversial discussion on the subject of governmental control, and extreme proposals were made. Longer experience has shown that most of the early fears regarding foundations were groundless. Criticism still continues, but the critics, curiously enough, have usually fallen into one of two opposite camps. The theoretical critics, who deal with the idea of the foundation, usually regard it as an ultra-conservative influence, ruled by the dead hand, dealing in palliatives rather than constructive change, controlled by trustees who are typically older men from conservative professions who may be expected to use their considerable powers to maintain the old order. Critics of individual programs, however, are likely to charge that foundation influence is irresponsible, radical, and subversive. Probably the truth lies in a middle ground between these criticisms, where wide opportunity exists for creative thinking and constructive work.

One of the most effective forms of control has been public opinion. Serious abuses of power seem unlikely so long as the actions of boards of

trustees and foundation executives are open to public review and comment. Many foundations are careful to publish full reports of their actions; unfortunately another large group, including many of the newer family foundations, fail to do so. It is probable that increased pressure will be brought upon all foundations enjoying tax exemption to furnish full reports on both finances and activities. Unless informed public opinion is available as an effective control throughout the foundation field, renewed demands for rigid governmental controls may arise, and foundations may lose one of their most useful present assets, their freedom for independent and pioneering action.

Some degree of public representation, if not control, may be achieved through method of selection of the board of trustees. It has already become almost universal practice among community trusts to have certain of the trustees, sometimes a majority, appointed by elected public officials or representatives of public groups, such as a judge, a governor or mayor, president of a college, executive officer of a chamber of commerce, a labor union councilor, president of a county bar association. A few general foundations have similar provisions for appointment of some of their trustees, and it is a policy which seems likely to be increasingly adopted. It may, however, also have serious drawbacks. In some states or localities appointment of trustees by public officials might subject the foundation to partisan political influences with disastrous results.

Another form of public control is the power of taxation. At present, its chief application is in penalizing foundations which engage to any large extent in propaganda, or other attempts, to influence legislation. It might be extended to discouraging foundations which simply accumulate income and have no present program for the public welfare. The United States Treasury Department has made proposals to tax all philanthropic funds. This is not the place to discuss the merits and demerits of so sweeping a proposal. With respect to foundations, it would seriously limit the funds available for present work now done in the public interest, and might be expected to discourage future application of "private wealth to public purpose" through foundations.

THE GENERAL PROSPECT

The ultimate purpose of foundations, perhaps, is to make organizations like foundations unnecessary. This will not be achieved within the

foreseeable future. We shall continue to find individuals with unusual needs not met by any "cradle to grave" security, and others with special abilities who require ladders to reach their own special heights. For many generations we shall have problems, especially in the relations of man to man and man to society, so deep and so difficult that no unaided student is equipped to tackle them, and involving such long search or such fundamental change that no public body is likely to undertake them. Finally, in a democracy, we have a continuing responsibility for bringing the results of research to all the people, so that discovery may be followed by wise action, and public policy may spring from knowledge.

In these areas lie ample opportunities for all the foundations which now exist, or are likely to be created. The effectiveness with which they continue to meet such opportunities will determine in large part the public attitude toward their control or continuance, and the willingness of private donors to set up new foundations or to contribute to existing ones.

It is, of course, possible that other influences may cut short or radically alter what seems now to be the course of development of this typically American invention, the private foundation. Continued low interest rates would limit funds currently available unless expenditure from capital becomes more general. A severe inflation or another war conceivably might wipe foundations out completely. But in the shorter range, and barring major catastrophes of this sort, it seems probable that American research foundations, now about to enter their second half century, will continue to be an independent, original, and important force for social progress.

PART II
DIRECTORIES AND LISTS



[7]

DESCRIPTIVE DIRECTORY

THIS Descriptive Directory endeavors to include all known foundations in the field of social welfare, broadly defined. Doubtful cases have usually been resolved in favor of inclusion, with a view to helpfulness to the reader rather than rigid definition. No appraisal of the work of individual foundations is attempted, nor is it implied by inclusion in, or exclusion from, this listing. The method used in compiling this Directory is described in detail in Appendix A, Method of the Study.

In general, we have not included college, university, ecclesiastical, and other similar foundations operating as a part of the parent organization and lacking separate boards; we have omitted the type of organization, often called a foundation, which finances its whole current program by contributions from the general public and has no sustaining fund; and we have removed dissolved foundations from this listing. Foundations with very small capitalization have been omitted, except where substantial future funds are expected.

The Directory is arranged alphabetically, and includes so far as available the incorporated name, date of founding, address, names of two principal officers, name of founder, outline of purposes and activities (quoted where possible in the words of the founder), a statement of capital assets, expenditures for the latest year of record, and grants. In the hope of stimulating full public reporting for organizations enjoying tax exemption, all known foundations falling within our general definitions have been included, even where our requests for information have been declined or unanswered.

Included in this Directory are 505 foundations. Substantially complete descriptions are presented for 364 foundations, of which 250 supplied financial data for publication. (In some of the remaining cases this was furnished for confidential use.) Of additional foundations here listed, 49 declined to furnish information; and 92 failed to answer repeated inquiries.

DESCRIPTIVE DIRECTORY

A and L Foundation; 41 West 86th Street, New York 24, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Abbott Foundation; 111 West Washington Street, Chicago 2, Ill.; Alfred W. Bays, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Achelis Foundation; 60 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.; John A. Lyon, Vice-President.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Air Hygiene Foundation of America, Inc. See Industrial Hygiene Foundation of America, Inc.

Alabama Educational Foundation (1925); First National Bank of Birmingham, Birmingham 2, Ala.; R. L. Lange, Principal Officer; C. F. Zukoski, Jr., Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Harvey G. Woodward for the establishment of one or more secondary schools for boys in Alabama and other southern states.

Capital Assets: \$3,500,000.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Alden — George I. Alden Trust; 332 Main Street, Worcester 8, Mass.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

All Nations Foundation; c/o Rev. Robert Anderson McKibben, Los Angeles, Calif.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Allen — Edgar F. Allen Foundation; c/o Lorain County Savings and Trust Company, Elyria, Ohio; A. B. Taylor, President.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Allen — Vivian B. Allen Foundation, Inc. (1938); 2 East 61st Street, New York 21, N.Y.; Mrs. Vivian B. Allen, President; Mrs. Caroline Lent, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Mrs. Vivian B. Allen to promote the well-being of mankind in the United States of America and elsewhere, including as a means to that end, research, publication, and the establishment and maintenance of charitable, benevolent, religious, and educational activities, agencies, and institutions. Current emphases include the fields of social welfare and religion.

Capital Assets: \$274,965.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$15,885. Of this sum, grants totaled \$14,918.

Altman Foundation (1913); B. Altman and Company, 361 Fifth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.; John S. Burke, President; James D. Twiname, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Benjamin Altman to promote the social, physical, or economic welfare and efficiency of the employes of B. Altman and Company; and to aid charitable, benevolent, or educational institutions within the state of New York.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

American Academy in Rome (1894); 101 Park Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.; James Kellum Smith, President; Richardson Pratt, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by many donors to promote the study and practice of the archaeology, literature, and history of the classical and later periods, and to aid and stimulate the education and training of artists and scholars. Fellowships have been awarded to citizens selected by competition to enable them to complete their training in Italy and other foreign countries. The war has caused the temporary discontinuance of grants for study and research abroad and the suspension

of scholarly publications. Small scholarships for study in the United States have been awarded.

Capital Assets: \$3,000,000.

Expenditures: Year ending September 30, 1944, \$27,000, of which grants amounted to \$11,000.

American Architectural Foundation (1943); c/o Edward C. Kemper, Executive Secretary of the American Institute of Architects, 1741 New York Avenue, NW., Washington 6, D.C.

Purpose and Activities: Established as a result of a gift made by Albert Kahn for the purpose of advancing the profession of architecture and the allied arts and sciences. It is expected that in the postwar period funds will be expended over a number of years through a series of awards to be made by the Foundation in recognition of meritorious professional work by architects throughout the nation.

Capital Assets: \$10,000.

Expenditures: None. The work of the Foundation was held in abeyance until after the war.

American Association of University Women, Fellowship Fund (1890); 1634 Eye Street, NW., Washington 6, D.C.; Dr. Meta Glass, Chairman, Committee on Fellowship Endowment; Dr. Hope Hibbard, Chairman, Committee on Fellowship Awards.

Purpose and Activities: Since 1890, the Association has given graduate fellowships to encourage creative scholarly work by women. Fellowships are given in general to women who have already completed some work for the doctorate, and have demonstrated capacity for independent research of high quality. Fellowships are awarded by a committee of distinguished women scholars representing the major fields of study. In 1927 the AAUW voted to raise a Million Dollar Fellowship Fund to endow graduate fellowships for women. Four-fifths of this Fund has been raised, and its completion seems assured. The Association also has a number of memorial fellowship endowments. About twenty \$1,500 fellowships

and a \$2,500 Achievement Award are now available each year. Several of these fellowships are international and one is Latin-American. As a contribution to reconstruction, the AAUW is now raising special International Study Grants to bring women of the liberated countries to this country to study; these are not necessarily for advanced work.

Capital Assets: Approximately \$925,000 (in fellowship endowments).

Expenditures: Year ending May 31, 1944, \$29,037. Of this sum, grants totaled \$23,250.

American Bankers Association Foundation for Education in Economics (1925); 22 East 40th Street, New York 16, N.Y.; Francis Marion Law, Chairman, Board of Trustees; Dr. William A. Irwin, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The American Bankers Association in commemoration of its Fiftieth Anniversary created the Foundation to establish scholarships in economics and promote economic research for the purpose of developing a sound public understanding of the business questions which underlie and vitally affect our national welfare and prosperity. The war emergency drastically reduced the demand for scholarship loans. In 1941-1942 forty-one loans were made, and only two loans in 1943-1944.

Capital Assets: \$656,807.

Expenditures: Year ending August 31, 1944, \$13,356. Of this sum, scholarship loans totaled \$500.

American Children's Fund, Inc. (1923); 420 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.; Edgar Rickard, President; Raymond Sawtelle, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: This Fund, established by the American Relief Administration, has been in process of liquidation for several years and beyond certain restricted commitments is not in position to entertain any appeals for funds.

Capital Assets: \$194,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$82,000. Of this sum, \$59,500 represented grants.

American Field Service Fellowships for French Universities, Inc. (1921); 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, N.Y.; Stephen Galatti, President; Edgar J. Fisher, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Numerous donors have established this fund to provide an enduring memorial for the 127 American Field Service men who gave their lives in World War I. Fellowships are awarded to American students for advanced study in French universities and institutions of higher learning and an occasional fellowship is given to a French student for study in an American university. Funds were raised during World War II for ambulances for Allied forces abroad. Fellowship activities will be resumed as soon as feasible.

Capital Assets: \$182,960.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$2,525, of which grants constituted \$750.

American Foundation, Inc. (1925); 1122 Lincoln-Liberty Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.; Mrs. Efreim Zimbalist, President; Clarence Gardner, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Edward W. Bok to engage exclusively in charitable, scientific, literary, and educational activities. Its Studies in Government have defined ten fields for study, with active present investigation in four of them. The first such research published was American Medicine, Expert Testimony out of Court (1937). The Foundation maintains the Mountain Lake Sanctuary, Lake Wales, Florida, and has developed this tract for educational and recreational opportunities. It also maintains, under separate deed of trust, the Philadelphia Award, founded in 1921 by Edward W. Bok. A prize of \$10,000 is conferred each year upon that man or woman living in Philadelphia, its suburbs or vicinity, who during the preceding year shall have performed or brought to its culmination an act or service calculated to advance the best and largest interests of the community of which Philadelphia is the center. No grants are made.

Capital Assets: \$2,187,492.

Expenditures: Year ending April 30, 1944, \$87,206.

American Foundation for the Blind, Inc. (1921); 15 West 16th Street, New York 11, N.Y.; William Ziegler, Jr., President; Dr. Robert B. Irwin, Executive Director.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation stimulates interest in the needs of the blind with a view to establishing necessary agencies in communities where none exists, assisting in the improvement of agencies already in operation, and securing the enactment of legislation designed to promote the best interests of the blind. Through research and education, it helps in improving methods of instructing blind boys and girls, in discovering new fields of employment, in building up a technique for the social and economic rehabilitation of those blinded in adult life, in maintaining an information and reference library, in finding ways of reducing the cost and increasing the amount of literature for the blind, and in developing improved appliances for their use. The Foundation awards scholarships to talented blind students.

Capital Assets: \$2,540,590.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$413,055. Of this sum, grants totaled \$15,032.

American Missionary Association (1846); 287 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.; Fred L. Brownlee, General Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: This fund, originally set up by a group of evangelical church people who were greatly concerned about Negro slavery, has as its chief resources the Charles M. Hall Fund of \$9,000,000 and the Daniel Hand Fund of \$1,500,000, income from the latter being restricted to the education of Negro youth south of the Mason and Dixon Line. The primary purpose of the Association was to diffuse knowledge of the Bible throughout the world, with special emphasis on the "sins of caste." Race relations remain an important interest today. The Association retains its corporate identity, though it now functions as a division of the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational Christian Churches.

Capital Assets: \$11,311,349.

Expenditures: Year ending May 31, 1944, \$861,365. Of this sum, \$783,803 represented grants,

chiefly for institutions and departments maintained by the Association.

American-Scandinavian Foundation (1911); 116 East 64th Street, New York 21, N.Y.; Henry Goddard Leach, President; John B. C. Watkins, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Niels Poulson as an educational institution engaged in advancing intellectual relations between Americans and Scandinavians. The Foundation operates chiefly through student fellowships for study abroad, publications, and a library of information.

Capital Assets: \$498,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$44,482.

American Trust Fund for Oxford University (1928); c/o Henry Allen Moe, 551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: The principal donor of this trust fund was the late George Eastman. Funds may be disbursed "to or for the benefit of the University of Oxford." The only purpose for which funds have been used has been for the support of the George Eastman Visiting Professorship in the University of Oxford.

Capital Assets: \$251,402.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$4,434. Of this sum, grants totaled \$3,959.

Anderson — M. D. Anderson Foundation (1936); State National Bank Building, Houston 2, Tex.; W. B. Bates, John H. Freeman, H. M. Wilkins, Trustees.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by M. D. Anderson for the improvement of working conditions among workers generally, as well as among particular classes of unskilled, skilled, and agricultural workers; the establishment, support, and maintenance of hospitals, homes, and institutions for the care of the sick, the young, the aged, and the incompetent and helpless; the improvement of living conditions; and the promotion of health, science, education, and advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people. The Foundation is currently active in the health field.

Capital Assets: \$17,587,175.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$246,324, of which grants constituted \$235,235.

Ansl Charity Foundation; 305 Broadway, New York 7, N.Y.; Samuel Hellinger, Executor.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Arbuckle-Jamison Foundation; c/o Shrum, Harrison and Craig, Law and Finance Building, Pittsburgh 2, Pa.; George Roth Craig, Trustee.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Martha A. Jamison and Margaret A. Jamison "for such religious, charitable and educational uses, objects and purposes as are recognized as such by the statutes and decisions of the courts of the States of Pennsylvania and New York." Since the donors' estates are still in the process of administration, the Foundation is not yet in operation and no prediction can be made at this time as to when it will be in receipt of funds nor the amount which it will eventually receive from the two estates.

Arnstein Foundation, Inc.; 608 Fifth Avenue, New York 20, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Aron — J. Aron Charitable Foundation, Inc. (1934); 165 Broadway, New York 6, N.Y.; Phelan Beale, President; L. Blumberg, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation's purpose is to contribute to such charitable, benevolent, philanthropic, and social welfare institutions or organizations as the directors may decide will be best benefited. Its current interests include the fields of education, child welfare, family welfare, and recreation.

Ascoli — Marion R. Ascoli Fund; c/o Mrs. Max Ascoli, 570 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined. The Fund was formerly known as the Marion R. Stern Fund.

Asheville Foundation (1919); P.O. Box 2510, Asheville, N.C.; C. G. Pickard, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation is a community trust. The income and, in stated cases, the principal may be used for assisting charitable, educational, and religious institutions; promoting education and scientific research; caring for the sick, aged, or helpless; improving living conditions; providing facilities for recreation; and for such other charitable purposes as will promote the mental, moral, and physical improvement of the people of Asheville both now and in the years to come.

Capital Assets: \$3,875.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$736, of which grants totaled \$728.

Assistance Fund. See Norman — Aaron E. Norman Fund, Inc.

Atherton — Juliette M. Atherton Trust (1915); P.O. Box 2990, Honolulu 2, Hawaii; F. C. Atherton, Treasurer; Mrs. Juliette M. Guard, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Atlanta Foundation (1921); c/o Trust Department, First National Bank of Atlanta, Atlanta 2, Ga.; Lee Ashcraft, Chairman of Committee of Management; C. E. Quickel, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The funds of the Foundation, which has been set up as a community trust, may be used at the discretion of the committee of management for the purpose of assisting individuals or organizations. At present, activities are confined to the granting of loans to students to enable them to secure an education.

Capital Assets: \$65,878.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$3,848.

Auerbach — Beatrice Fox Auerbach Foundation (1941); 956 Main Street, Hartford 3, Conn.; Mrs. Beatrice Fox Auerbach, President; Solomon Elsner, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Mrs. Beatrice Fox Auerbach "to assist, financially or otherwise, charitable corporations, associations, organizations, societies or agencies administering relief to the needy, or providing means for the care of the sick, aged and helpless; to support and aid public institutions organized and operated for exclusively public purposes; to foster and encourage education and to assist public educational institutions; to promote and encourage the appreciation and study of music, and to aid public musical organizations; and, in general, to promote the physical, cultural and spiritual welfare of men, women and children by supporting charitable and educational means and objectives, without distinction as to creed, sex, color or race."

Capital Assets: \$600,000.

Expenditures: Year ending October 31, 1944, \$30,370. Of this sum, \$30,320 represented grants.

Auguste — H. Spencer Auguste Foundation; c/o H. Spencer Auguste, 1 Park Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Bache — Jules Bache Foundation (1937); 61 Broadway, New York 4, N.Y.; Capt. Clifford W. Michel, Director; E. P. Goetz, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: An educational association, founded by the late Jules S. Bache, for the promotion and encouragement of art and education in art. The Foundation's purposes include the acquisition of paintings and other works of art and the maintenance of a museum or other proper place for their public exhibition; and, generally, the promotion of the artistic taste of the public.

Capital Assets: \$2,835,572.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$10,095.

Bagby Music Lovers' Foundation, Inc. (1925); c/o Bankers Trust Company, 529 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.; George L. Bagby, President; Harry H. Martin, Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Funds from a large group of contributors provide pensions for musical artists of distinction who are without adequate means of support at the end of their public careers.

Capital Assets: \$224,945.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$6,848. Of this sum, \$6,600 represented pension payments.

Baird — Winfield Baird Foundation (1936); c/o David Baird, 70 Pine Street, New York 5, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation's funds are used in their entirety for direct charitable relief work. Contributions are made to settlement houses, hospitals, and other institutions in various parts of the United States, but particularly to those in or near New York City.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Baker — George F. Baker Charity Trust (1937); 2 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.; Sheridan A. Logan, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Created by the Will of George F. Baker, distributions from this Trust are to be made "to corporations organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes, including the encouragement of art and the prevention of cruelty to children or animals. . . ." Present emphases are chiefly in the fields of health and social welfare.

Capital Assets: \$8,268,750.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$873,500. Of this sum, \$814,775 represented grants.

Baker-Hunt Foundation, Inc. (1930); 620 Greenup Street, Covington, Ky.; Robert C. Simmons, Chairman, Board of Directors; Virginia I. Reed, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Margaretta W. Hunt for the promotion of education, art, science, and religion in Covington and the vicinity. The main emphasis has been on art, music, religion, and nature study. Pupils of the

Covington schools come to the Foundation's small natural history museum for most of their nature study and many of the classes in religion are taught at the Foundation. War-time transportation difficulties caused the abandonment of most of the after-school classes for children.

Capital Assets: \$437,500.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$16,479.

Ball Brothers Foundation (1926); Muncie, Ind.; A. M. Bracken, Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: This Foundation is limited in its contributions to charitable institutions or projects within the state of Indiana. Its chief project in the past has been helping the Ball Memorial Hospital which is located in Muncie, Indiana. It appears that this hospital will be the Foundation's principal donee in the future.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Ball — George and Frances Ball Foundation (1937); Muncie, Ind.; A. M. Bracken, Secretary and Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined. See 1938 edition, American Foundations for Social Welfare.

Baptist Education Fund. See Northern Baptist Education Society.

Baptist Foundation of Texas (1930); 201 Baptist Building, Dallas 1, Tex.; H. L. Kokernot, President; George J. Mason, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Texas Baptists to serve any Baptist institution, agency, or enterprise located in Texas or fostered by or having the official sanction of the Baptist General Convention of Texas or Southern Baptist Convention. The Foundation's chief interests are in the fields of health, education, social welfare, and religion.

Capital Assets: \$10,000,000.

Expenditures: Year ending August 31, 1944, \$318,410.

Barnes Foundation (1922); Merion, Pa.; Dr. Albert C. Barnes, President; Miss N. E. Mullen, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Dr. Albert C. Barnes "to promote the advancement of education and the appreciation of the fine arts; and for this purpose to erect, found and maintain, in the Township of Lower Merion, County of Montgomery, and State of Pennsylvania, an art gallery and other necessary buildings for the exhibition of works of ancient and modern art, and the maintenance in connection therewith of an arboretum, wherein shall be cultivated and maintained trees and shrubs for the study and for the encouragement of arboriculture and forestry, together with a laboratory of arboriculture, if the same shall be found necessary."

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Beaumont — Louis D. Beaumont Trust; National City Bank Building, Cleveland 14, Ohio; Nathan Loeser, Co-Trustee.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Beck — Lewis H. Beck Foundation (1923); 304 Grand Theater Building, Atlanta 3, Ga.; Charles Howard Candler, Chairman; Mrs. Miriam W. Jenkins, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Lewis H. Beck for educational purposes. The trustees have authority to finance any type of educational program they select, provided it is undertaken for the benefit of Georgia students. Educational work of which the trustees have approved includes the award of student loans, scholarships, and fellowships; donation of funds for college libraries in Georgia colleges; research by graduates of Georgia colleges; educational surveys; and the erection of college buildings. Scholarships for graduate work are tenable in any educational institution here or abroad and available to graduates of Georgia colleges. Awards for undergraduate work are available only to students attending Georgia colleges.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Becker — William F. Becker Trust (1927); c/o Phillip P. Nolte, Secretary and Treasurer of First Wisconsin Trust Company, Milwaukee 1, Wis.

Purpose and Activities: This fund was established under the Will of Dr. William F. Becker for the advancement of mental hygiene in its highest conception. Largely as a result of funds received from the Trust the Wisconsin Society for Mental Hygiene came into being.

Capital Assets: \$100,000.

Expenditures: Subject to a life annuity.

Bedford Fund, Inc. (1919); Greens Farms, Conn.; F. T. Bedford, President; H. J. Mahnken, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Edward T. Bedford for "... use and support of charitable, benevolent, religious, missionary or public educational work, agencies or institutions of any kind or class ..." mainly in Fairfield County, Connecticut.

Capital Assets: \$2,417,332.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$81,609. Of this sum, grants totaled \$77,211.

Bedford — May Esther Bedford Fund; c/o J. Schiott, 283 Fairfield Avenue, Bridgeport 3, Conn.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Beeman — Martha H. Beeman Foundation (1920); 650 Memorial Parkway, Niagara Falls, N.Y.; Dr. W. H. Hodge, President; R. D. House, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Mrs. Martha H. Beeman, this Foundation has as its field the improvement of social and living conditions of minors and the promotion of the well-being of minors, physically, mentally, morally, or socially. The operation of a child guidance clinic has been the major project from the date of organization.

Capital Assets: \$271,422.

Expenditures: Year ending August 31, 1944, \$16,947.

Belgian American Educational Foundation, Inc. (1920); 420 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.; Perrin C. Galpin, President and Secretary; Edgar Rickard, Chairman.

Purpose and Activities: Established from funds of the Commission for Relief in Belgium and originally known as the C.R.B. Educational Foundation, this Foundation promotes the closer relations and the exchange of intellectual ideas between Belgium and the United States, and assists higher education and scientific research. It has carried on exchange of professors, scientists, advanced and graduate students between Belgium and the United States. It has supplied American periodicals and books to Belgium and contributed to the support of the Fondation Universitaire in Brussels, the Francqui Foundation in Brussels, and the Universities of Brussels and Louvain and other institutions in Belgium. Exchanges of professors and students were necessarily suspended in 1940, but the Foundation has continued aid to a number of Belgian professors and students in the United States.

Capital Assets: \$2,059,930.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$57,859. Of this total, \$19,955 represented grants.

Beloit Foundation, Inc. (1939); 121 West Grand Avenue, Beloit, Wis.; H. A. von Oven, President; Miss Borghild Boe, Administrator.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, whose "business and purpose shall be to raise money and accept contributions exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary and educational purposes; to devote its property to, expend its funds, or the income from either for, such purposes." Present activities are in the field of social welfare, including child welfare, family welfare, and relief.

Capital Assets: \$505,408.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$13,880. Of this sum, \$11,507 represented grants.

Bernstein—Bernard Bernstein Foundation, Inc. (1943); 444 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.; Bernard Bernstein, President; Gerson J. Bernstein, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Bernard Bernstein and his immediate family to aid religious, cultural, and charitable institutions of all races and creeds; to co-ordinate and amalgamate the philanthropic activities of all the members of the corporation; and to promote the public welfare.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Year ending May 31, 1944, \$3,576.

Bing Fund, Inc.; 119 West 40th Street, New York 18, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: The Fund's purpose is to make contributions to miscellaneous charities.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Bingham Associates Fund (1932); Dr. Samuel Proger, Medical Director, 30 Benet Street, Boston 11, Mass.

Purpose and Activities: Set up for charitable and benevolent purposes and particularly for the advancement of medicine, the Fund is at present engaged in a broad postgraduate program designed to extend the benefits of a medical school hospital center (Tufts Medical School and the Joseph H. Pratt Diagnostic Hospital, both in Boston) to other communities in New England, and thereby to provide better medical care by enabling the family doctor to keep abreast of advances in medicine and render service of first quality to his patients. The program includes a co-ordination of hospital services.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Bivin—George Davis Bivin Foundation (1929); 713 The Arcade, Cleveland 15, Ohio; Reginald H. Singleton, President; Clarence C. Fowerbaugh, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Dr. George Davis Bivin to conduct and maintain intensive psychological and psychiatric research for the discovery of psychogenic factors in functional diseases, especially those factors relating to the mental hygiene of children; to conduct, acquire, and maintain clinics, laboratories, consultation rooms, and equipment in any way useful, suitable, or necessary for that purpose; and to present to the public the information thus gained and any other approved findings by lectures, correspondence courses, and publications. Scholarships have been awarded by the Foundation.

Capital Assets: \$125,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$9,000, of which sum grants represented \$6,350.

Blandin — Charles K. Blandin Foundation; c/o Blandin Paper Company, E 1101 First National Bank Building, St. Paul 1, Minn.; Charles K. Blandin, President.

Purpose and Activities: At the date of this inquiry, the Foundation was in the process of being organized.

Blaustein — Louis and Henrietta Blaustein Foundation; American Building, Baltimore, Md.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Blickman Foundation; c/o Saul Blickman, 536 Gregory Avenue, Weehawken, N.J.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Bliss — Cornelius N. Bliss Memorial Fund, Inc.; 1 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.; Edward A. Rocks, Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Board of Christian Education of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ (1929); 1442 U. B. Building, Dayton 2, Ohio; Bishop G. D. Batdorf, President; O. T. Deever, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Church has established a loan fund for ministerial students amounting to \$40,198. In addition, interest only from a scholarship fund of \$33,302 is available for ministerial students.

Capital Assets: \$73,500.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, loans \$2,500, gifts \$1,000.

Board of Directors of City Trusts, City of Philadelphia (1869); 120 South 3d Street, Philadelphia 6, Pa.; William H. Kingsley, President; Walter R. Russell, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Board functions in part as a community trust. The largest fund is that for Girard College, established by Stephen Girard and valued at \$83,428,661 at the close of 1941. Sixty-seven minor city trusts are also included, of which the largest is for Wills Hospital, and amounted to \$2,039,649 at the close of 1941. Funds administered by the Board have been established for specific purposes; grants are not made to other organizations or institutions.

Capital Assets: \$88,083,541 (as of December 31, 1941). No later figures available.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1941, \$2,078,731. Of this sum, grants from minor city trusts totaled \$345,980.

Board of Education of the Methodist Church, Student Loan Fund (1872); 810 Broadway, Nashville 2, Tenn.; Edward W. Stodghill, Director; H. W. McPherson, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Merged funds of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Methodist Episcopal Church, South (Christian Workers Education Aid Fund), and Methodist Protestant Church are used to make loans to help Methodist young people to secure higher education. The war brought a reduction in the number of loans requested and a large increase in the repayment of loans.

Capital Assets: \$5,105,644.

Expenditures: Year ending May 31, 1944, \$120,104. Of this sum, loans totaled \$84,790.

Boettcher Foundation; c/o C. K. Boettcher, 828 Seventeenth Street, Denver 2, Colo.

Purpose and Activities: The scope of the Foundation's activity is confined to purposes within the state of Colorado. Further information declined.

Bonfils — Frederick G. Bonfils Foundation (1927); Denver Post Building, 1544 Champa Street, Denver 2, Colo.; Helen G. Bonfils, President; Anne O'Neill, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined. See 1938 edition, American Foundations for Social Welfare.

Borden — Mary Owen Borden Memorial Foundation; 90 Worth Street, New York 13, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Boston. See Committee of the Permanent Charity Fund; White — City of Boston, George Robert White Fund.

Brez Foundation (1917); 2 Rector Street, New York 6, N.Y.; F. E. Mathez, President; Alexis C. Coudert, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Under the Will of John D. Brez the Foundation's income is to be expended for the use of hospitals, orphan asylums, and other charitable institutions in New York City or within a radius of 50 miles of the city, or organized for the special benefit of residents of New York City; also for the promotion and encouragement of discoveries and researches tending to the alleviation of suffering, medical and surgical purposes, and generally for the benefit of mankind. The Foundation's current interests include mental hygiene, the handicapped, child welfare, and relief.

Capital Assets: \$1,245,734.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$41,566. Of this sum, grants constituted \$39,000.

Brookings Institution (1927); 722 Jackson Place, NW., Washington 6, D.C.; Harold G. Moulton, President; Elizabeth H. Wilson, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Institution is a nonprofit corporation organized for scientific and educational purposes and devoted to the public interest. Its objects as stated in the charter are "to promote, carry on, conduct, and foster scientific research, education, training and publication in the broad fields of economics, government administration, and the political and social sciences generally . . . without regard to and independently of the special interests of any group in the body politic, whether political, social or economic." The Institution, with its predecessor organizations, has studied economic and governmental problems and interpreted them to the general public. The reports of its studies are published as books or pamphlets. It furthers advanced study in the social sciences by granting fellowships to graduates of leading universities. The basic income of the Institution is derived from its endowment, the larger part of which has been given by Mr. and Mrs. Robert S. Brookings.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Browning — Edward W. Browning Foundation; c/o Daniel Shirk, 170 Broadway, New York 7, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Not yet functioning.

Brush Foundation (1928); 1900 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland 15, Ohio; Virginia R. Wing, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: To effect an improvement in the quality of our population by encouraging a higher birth rate among its abler members and by discouraging reproduction by persons who have transmissible mental or serious inheritable physical defects. Present activities include studies of the growth and development of children, of the incidence of feeble-mindedness in an urban population, and of certain endocrine and other factors which affect human fertility.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Buchanan — William Buchanan Foundation (1923); Texarkana, Tex.; Dr. Stanley J. Seeger, President; Frank S. Carroll, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by William Buchanan for the alleviation of suffering and distress. Without in any way limiting the powers of the trustees Mr. Buchanan, during his lifetime, indicated his interest in the welfare of children and his hope that the fund could be utilized in activities directed toward this end. In 1943 the Foundation made a grant of \$200,000 to the University of Texas for the purpose of furthering the health program of the University in the field of child health. In addition, the Foundation has made grants to aid in the support of local health units in Bowie County, Texas.

Capital Assets: \$2,200,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$54,463, of which grants amounted to \$54,040.

Buffalo Foundation (1919); 361 Delaware Avenue, Buffalo 2, N.Y.; Edward H. Letchworth, Chairman of Governing Committee; Sara Kerr, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: This community trust administers trust funds for charitable, educational, and civic purposes for the benefit primarily of the inhabitants of the City of Buffalo and County of Erie. It maintains a Bureau of Studies and Social Statistics and publishes the Directory of Social Welfare and Allied Services, Foundation Forum, and Statistical News Letter for the information of philanthropic donors, community welfare organizations, and its own distribution committee; provides a lending library pertinent to its activities; and assists in educational, recreational, public health, and social service programs.

Capital Assets: \$1,290,210.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$26,124. Of this sum, \$19,295 represented grants.

Buhl Foundation (1928); Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh 22, Pa.; Charles F. Lewis, Director; John N. Hepburn, Assistant Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Henry Buhl, Jr., to stimulate in selected fields the ad-

vancement of human welfare by experiment, demonstration, and research. Principal grants have been to existing agencies or especially established agencies for promotion of nationally significant programs in the Pittsburgh district in regional economic, social, and historical research; higher education (including social work training at the graduate level); public health; and mental hygiene. The Foundation has built Chatham Village at a cost of \$1,600,000, seeking to show the commercial practicability of building for long-term investment management of large-scale garden homes communities, and to promote new and higher standards in urban "white collar" housing. The Buhl Planetarium and Institute of Popular Science, built in 1939 at a cost of \$1,100,000, has received operating grants totaling \$155,000.

Capital Assets: \$13,182,106.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$90,000 in grants. Total expenditures not stated.

Bulova Foundation (1944); 630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20, N.Y.; Sanford H. Cohen, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Arde Bulova, this Foundation may "donate or contribute to any charitable, educational, vocational, literary, scientific, or religious institution or organization in the United States or to any organized charity or welfare fund, community chest, hospital fund or foundation in addition to any college, university, or other institution of learning, or institution devoted to scientific research for the purpose of establishing and maintaining scholarships, libraries, research laboratories, or professorships, to make gifts or loans, to assist and enable young men and women to obtain college, professional, or vocational training, to give relief to indigent and deserving persons as the trustees may from time to time consider to be in special need. . . ." Recent activities have been in the fields of health, the handicapped, and education.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Burgiss — W. W. Burgiss Charities, Inc.; Greenville, S.C.; W. W. Burgiss, Chairman of Board.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information. See 1938 edition, American Foundations for Social Welfare.

Burke — Winifred Masterson Burke Relief Foundation, Inc. (1902); 785 Mamaroneck Avenue, White Plains, N.Y.; Dr. Lewis A. Conner, President; Seymour L. Cromwell, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by John Masterson Burke "for the relief of worthy men and women, who, notwithstanding their willingness to support themselves, have become wholly or partly unable to do so by reason of sickness or misfortune, or have been discharged from hospitals before they have regained sufficient strength to resume their employments." The Foundation maintains a convalescent home for adults at White Plains, N.Y., to which all of its income is devoted.

Capital Assets: \$5,500,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$190,000.

Burroughs Newsboys Foundation (1927); 10 Somerset Street, Boston 8, Mass.; Harry E. Burroughs, President; William F. Donovan, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Harry E. Burroughs for the aid of newsboys and later extended to include all boys who work on the streets. The Foundation provides opportunities for education, stimulates thrift, and makes it possible for boys to develop latent qualities to the end that they may become useful citizens. Current emphases include a USO program, a supper program for boys of working mothers, an extensive farming program on Foundation farms at Agassiz Village, Maine, and a rehabilitation program for returned veterans.

Capital Assets: \$294,519.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$115,435.

Byram Foundation, Inc. (1938); P.O. Box 59, Pleasantville, N.Y.; DeWitt Wallace, President; Randolph E. Paul, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by DeWitt Wallace and Lila Bell Wallace "to give financial aid to deserving and indigent individuals, corporations, unincorporated associations, and societies organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational purposes."

Capital Assets: \$419,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$113,200.

C. R. B. Educational Foundation. See Belgian American Educational Foundation, Inc.

California Community Foundation (1915); 921 Pacific Southwest Building, 215 West 6th Street, Los Angeles 14, Calif.; William B. Munro, Chairman, Advisory Committee; Mrs. Angeline Bobbitt, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, for charitable and educational purposes. Major interests are in the fields of health, education, social welfare, religion, and recreation.

Capital Assets: \$1,171,173.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$27,372. Of this sum, grants totaled \$16,762.

Cambridge Foundation (1916); c/o Harvard Trust Company, Cambridge 39, Mass.; Walter F. Earle, Chairman.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, established for such charitable purposes as the relief of poverty and distress and also such other legally charitable uses as are conducive to the mental, moral, and physical welfare of the inhabitants of Cambridge, or elsewhere if so provided by the original donor, regardless of race, color, or creed. Current emphases include the fields of health and family welfare and the awarding of scholarships.

Capital Assets: \$360,637.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$13,762. Of this sum, grants totaled \$12,881.

Campbell — John Bulow Campbell Foundation (1940); 237 Trust Company of Georgia Building, Atlanta 3, Ga.; E. Warren Moise, Chairman; Adrian C. Ford, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Under the Will of John Bulow Campbell it is provided that the income of the trust can be used for any charitable, religious, or educational purpose in the southeastern states and for the Presbyterian Church without limitation as to territory. The trustees are given the widest discretion in the selection of those who will receive grants. The Foundation came into existence such a short time prior to the war that no definite program has been worked out.

Capital Assets: \$7,182,547 (as of April 1, 1945).

Expenditures: Not stated.

Capper Foundation for Crippled Children (1934); Topeka, Kan.; Arthur Capper, President; J. M. Parks, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The purpose of the Foundation, established by Arthur Capper, is "to assist unfortunate crippled children whose parents are financially unable to provide necessary surgical and medical ministrations, so as to restore them as far as possible to normal health and physical ability to take care of themselves."

Capital Assets: \$75,652.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$8,187.

Cardinal Mundelein Foundation. See Mundelein — Cardinal Mundelein Foundation.

Carnegie Corporation of New York (1911); 522 Fifth Avenue, New York 18, N.Y.; Devereux C. Josephs, President; Robert M. Lester, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Andrew Carnegie "to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States and the British Dominions and Colonies, by aiding technical schools, institutions of higher learning, libraries, scientific research, hero funds, useful publications, and by such other agencies and means as shall from time to time be found appropriate therefor." Wartime policies have included temporary support for the American Red Cross and the National War Fund. See annual reports issued each December for areas of current interest.

Capital Assets: \$166,506,401.

Expenditures: Year ending September 30, 1944, \$6,298,443. Of this sum, grants totaled \$5,890,215.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1910); 700 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D.C., for Secretary's Office and Division of International Law; 405 West 117th Street, New York 27, N.Y., for Divisions of Intercourse and Education, Economics and History; John W. Davis, Acting President; George A. Finch, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Andrew Carnegie to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding of international questions among the people of the United States; to advance the cause of peace among nations; to hasten the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy; to encourage and promote methods for the peaceful settlement of international differences and for the increase of international understanding and concord; and to aid in the development of international law and the acceptance by all nations of the principles underlying such law. During the war, work outside the Western Hemisphere was curtailed. Present emphasis is on education of the public on postwar problems and reconstruction, including the necessity of international organization.

Capital Assets: \$11,131,629.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$571,858.

Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1905); 522 Fifth Avenue, New York 18, N.Y.; Oliver C. Carmichael, President; Howard J. Savage, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Andrew Carnegie "to provide retiring pensions, without regard to race, sex, creed or color for the teachers of universities, colleges, and technical schools in the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Newfoundland. . . . In general, to do and perform all things necessary to encourage, uphold, and dignify the profession of the teacher and the cause of higher education,

... the trustees having full power "to modify the conditions and regulations under which the work shall be carried on . . . in the manner best adapted to the conditions of the times. . . ." Besides continuous payment of retiring allowances and widows' pensions, recent emphasis has been placed upon educational studies involving use of new-type comprehensive achievement tests for admission, promotion, and educational guidance at the college and university level. During wartime, activities have been extended to make possible use of the Foundation's Graduate Record Examination at many higher institutions as a criterion for admission, achievement, and guidance with returning service personnel, and a program of measurement and guidance in important engineering schools not only in wartime training but in peacetime educational procedures. The Foundation does not grant scholarships, fellowships, or student loans.

Capital Assets: \$17,066,395.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$2,102,084. Of this sum, \$1,893,923 represented retiring allowances and widows' pensions.

Carnegie Hero Fund Commission
(1904); 2307 Oliver Building, Pittsburgh 22, Pa.; Thomas S. Arbuthnot, President; C. B. Ebersol, Manager and Assistant Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Andrew Carnegie established this Fund for the purpose of recognizing in a suitable manner heroic efforts to save human life made by those following peaceful vocations; relieving those injured in making such efforts; providing for their widows and orphans in cases where life may have been sacrificed; and aiding to some extent those who may be injured by accident in future great catastrophes or disasters.

Capital Assets: \$9,475,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$134,559. This entire sum was dispensed in grants.

Carnegie Institution of Washington
(1902); 1530 P Street, NW., Washington 5, D.C.; Vannevar Bush, President; Walter M. Gilbert, Executive Officer.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Andrew Carnegie, the Institution's Articles of Incorporation declare in general "that the objects of the corporation shall be to encourage, in the broadest and most liberal manner, investigation, research, and discovery, and the application of knowledge to the improvement of mankind." An operating organization, the Institution attempts to advance fundamental research in fields not normally covered by the activities of other agencies, and to concentrate attention upon specific problems, shifting attack from time to time to meet the more pressing needs of research as they develop with increase of knowledge. Departments of research have been established in the fields of astronomy, terrestrial sciences, biological sciences, and historical research. Grants are occasionally made in support of special projects related to the Institution's program, but these have been suspended except in the interest of war work. Approximately 75 per cent of normal activity in 1944 was suspended in order that available facilities, including services of staff members, might be utilized in conduct of war research under government contracts.

Capital Assets: \$43,884,844.

Expenditures: Year ending October 31, 1944, \$1,239,196, exclusive of advances on account of war work.

Carver — George Washington Carver Foundation (1940); Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.; Dr. R. W. Brown, Director.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by George Washington Carver "to promote, sponsor, and direct scientific research in an effort to provide a more balanced economy among farm people, to develop processes and equipment that will make possible the utilization of farm crops for industrial uses, and to develop products from those plants indigenous to the southern region. Additional objectives are to provide a place for the Negro trained in research to contribute to the scientific progress of our nation and the world, and, so that these talents will not be lost, to correlate and centralize the collective value of the physical sciences in the solution of the problems of the farm, and to

expand and perpetuate the pioneering work of Dr. Carver." Present emphasis is on the industrial utilization of farm wastes and agricultural products as a means of providing economic security for farm people. Scholarships are awarded by the Foundation.

Capital Assets: \$85,000 (approximate, as of April 1, 1945).

Expenditures: Not stated.

Chaloner Prize Foundation (1917); 64 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.; S. LeRoy French, Clerk.

Purpose and Activities: Established by John Armstrong Chaloner to provide scholarships to art students for the study and advancement of art, including painting and sculpture. The program was in abeyance during the war period.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Champaign Civic Foundation (1944); 318 North Neil Street, Champaign, Ill.; Albert Eisner, Jr., President; George R. McComb, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation, set up by Hartwell C. Howard, is a community trust. Its purposes are civic, benevolent, educational, and charitable.

Capital Assets: \$5,900 (as of June 1, 1945).

Expenditures: Nine months ending December 31, 1944, \$86.

Charities Foundation; c/o Jakob Goldschmidt, 761 Fifth Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation is inactive at the present time.

Charleston Scientific and Cultural Educational Fund (1939); 30 Broad Street, Charleston 3, S.C.; George L. Buist, Chairman, Board of Trustees; Clarence B. Schachte, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Charles J. Hughes for the encouragement of scientific or

cultural arts "by educating persons in scientific, cultural and artistic studies or by maintaining and financially assisting persons actually engaged in scientific or cultural or artistic work of a character that promises benefit to humanity or to result in scientific or cultural or artistic productions of merit or to increase the knowledge of mankind." Fellowships are open to any man or woman between the ages of twenty and sixty who is a native-born South Carolinian, regardless of race, creed, or condition in life. It is hoped that the recipient shall intend to be a life resident of Charleston. The Fund has been largely inactive since the start of the war.

Capital Assets: \$100,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$770, of which grants constituted \$500.

Chicago Community Trust (1915); 10 South La Salle Street, Chicago 3, Ill.; Edward L. Ryerson, Chairman of Executive Committee; Frank D. Loomis, Secretary and Director.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, operating under a trust agreement to accumulate and conserve trust funds for charitable purposes, using the income in such ways as may be designated by the donors or determined by the executive committee. The funds are held in trust by various Chicago banks and trust companies. Supported by income from endowment, the Trust conducts social surveys and contributes to charitable and educational agencies. Recent activities have been in the fields of health, education, social welfare (including family welfare and relief), and recreation.

Capital Assets: \$9,000,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$270,000. Of this sum, \$255,000 represented grants.

Child Education Foundation (1916); 535 East 84th Street, New York 28, N.Y.; Paxton Blair, President; Anna Eva McLin, Director.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation's purpose is to contribute to the advancement of self-instruction and co-operative plans of education which will encourage independence of

thought and stimulate initiative and community interest. It operates through four closely related units: the teacher education department, the children's home school, the advisory service, and the parents' consultation service. Grants are made only for scholarships and student loans.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Children's Fund of Michigan (1929); 660 Frederick Street, Detroit 2, Mich.; William J. Norton, Executive Vice-President and Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by James Couzens "to promote the health, welfare, happiness and development of the children of the State of Michigan primarily, and elsewhere in the world." The Fund's chief interests are in the fields of mental hygiene, public health, and recreation. Contributions have been made to agencies concerned with protecting the lives of children who have been disturbed or threatened with disturbance throughout the world because of the war.

Capital Assets: \$6,513,784.

Expenditures: Year ending April 30, 1944, \$760,638, of which grants totaled \$288,849.

Christian Education and Ministerial Relief of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, Executive Committee of (1904); 410 Urban Building, Louisville 2, Ky.; Charles B. Castner, President; Wade H. Boggs, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: These funds, which have been given by individuals and church organizations, are used to assist Presbyterian young people in defraying expenses while attending Presbyterian colleges and theological seminaries. Some loans carry the requirement that they be paid back in cash, while others are to be repaid in terms of service. The war has eliminated almost entirely the need of loans to young men.

Capital Assets: \$379,315.

Expenditures: Year ending March 31, 1944, \$8,529 was paid out in loans.

Christian Foundation (1921); Lemcke Building, Indianapolis 7, Ind.; Hilton U. Brown, President.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Christian Workers Education Aid Fund. See Board of Education of the Methodist Church, Student Loan Fund.

Church Peace Union, Founded by Andrew Carnegie (1914); 70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N.Y.; Dr. William P. Merrill, President; Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Church Peace Union was founded for the purpose of interesting, arousing, and organizing the world's moral forces and men of all religions in behalf of world peace. Its board of trustees is composed of representatives of the chief Protestant denominations and of the Catholic and Jewish faiths. Emphases in 1944 included programs for "Win the war — win the peace," postwar planning, and inter-faith co-operation.

Capital Assets: \$1,928,444.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$107,006. Of this sum, \$21,750 represented grants.

Clara Elizabeth Maternal Health Fund (1937); Hurley Hospital, Flint 2, Mich.; H. H. Curtice, President; S. S. Stewart, Sr., Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by William S. Knudsen ". . . to assist the medical profession in improving maternal health in Flint and Genesee County. This objective has been approached primarily by (1) providing instruction for prospective parents, (2) co-operating with both official and non-official agencies in a broad program to promote better public understanding." The Fund's work now covers the entire area of family life education. Its educational activities include classes on marriage and the family, and sex education.

Capital Assets: 4,530 shares General Motors stock.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, approximately \$12,000.

Clark Foundation; 149 Broadway, New York 6, N.Y.; W. Beach Day, Director.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Clemens — Marie Heye Clemens Fund, Inc.; 63 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.; Thomas Roberts, Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: The formation of the Fund has not yet been completed as the estate of the founder, Mrs. Marie Heye Clemens, is still in the process of administration.

Cleveland Foundation (1914); 1338 Terminal Tower Building, Cleveland 13, Ohio; Leyton E. Carter, Director; Fred S. McConnell, Chairman of Distribution Committee.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation, the first community trust to be set up, was established for public charitable and educational purposes for the benefit of the inhabitants of Cleveland and its vicinity. Present emphases are child care, aid to aged, education (including scholarships and student loans), aid to hospitals, service providing reading material to shut-ins, and recreation.

Capital Assets: \$8,635,167.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$279,649, of which grants amounted to \$264,169.

Coe Foundation; c/o T. J. Hartung, 3205 Chrysler Building, New York 17, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Not yet functioning.

Cohen — Joseph H. Cohen and Sons Foundation; 71 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Colorado Foundation for Research in Tuberculosis (1924); P.O. Box 161, Colorado Springs, Colo.; Dr. Gerald B. Webb, President; G. B. Hazlehurst, Secretary and Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Ruth D. Dangler, Gerald B. Webb, and Victor W. Hungerford to promote research in hygiene, medicine and surgery, and allied subjects and in the

nature and causes of disease and the methods of its prevention and treatment, with particular reference to tuberculosis; and to make knowledge relating to these various subjects available. The Foundation's principal work is research in tuberculosis. Owing to the war its staff has been considerably curtailed.

Capital Assets: \$175,000.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$5,500.

Columbia Foundation (1940); 1601 Russ Building, San Francisco 4, Calif.; Mrs. Marjorie Elkus, Executive Director.

Purpose and Activities: "To engage in such charitable, scientific, religious, literary and/or educational activities as shall be in furtherance of the public welfare and the well-being of mankind." Grants are limited to a one-year period. Projects requiring support in excess of one year may be considered at the end of the first year period, provided the progress report submitted meets with the approval of the board. Current interests include mental hygiene, social welfare, race relations, and medical research.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Year ending September 30, 1944, \$216,847. Of this sum, grants constituted \$207,611.

Columbus Foundation (1943); 400 South Front Street, Columbus 15, Ohio; Harrison M. Sayre, Director.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation is a community trust, set up "to provide a means by which gifts and bequests for charitable, educational, and public purposes may be administered prudently by experienced financial institutions and expended wisely by persons familiar with the social needs of the community, taking into account the constantly changing conditions and needs of society."

Capital Assets: \$24,525.

Expenditures: No distribution of funds was made in 1944.

Committee of the Permanent Charity Fund Inc. (1915); 100 Franklin Street,

Boston 10, Mass.; Roger Preston, President; Arthur G. Rotch, Secretary and Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, established "to administer the income of the Permanent Charity Fund created and existing under an Agreement and Declaration of Trust executed Sept. 7, 1915, by Boston Safe Deposit & Trust Company." Distribution of income has been usually to existing and active charitable organizations of Boston and vicinity, but activities are not legally limited to this territory. Grants have included the fields of health, recreation, social welfare, and education, the last chiefly in the form of scholarship aid.

Capital Assets: \$5,939,371.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$251,126. Of this sum, \$239,539 represented grants.

Commonwealth Fund (1918); 41 East 57th Street, New York 22, N.Y.; Barry C. Smith, General Director.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Mrs. Stephen V. Harkness "to do something for the welfare of mankind." About two-thirds of current appropriations are for activities tending to promote or maintain physical and mental health, including in 1944 nearly \$300,000 for medical research. In medical education fellowships are offered for advanced study; provision is made for visiting instructors in medical schools; aid is given to departments of preventive medicine and psychiatry, to teaching arrangements designed to promote interplay between medicine and psychiatry, and to various forms of postgraduate instruction for men in practice. Public health activities, designed to raise standards of rural service, center in Tennessee, Mississippi, and Oklahoma. Fellowships for British graduate students and civil servants were suspended during the war, but 12 fellowships for postgraduate study of medicine and public health are awarded annually to Latin Americans. The Fund has set aside more than \$1,250,000 for war relief and other purposes related to war needs, including rehabilitation of men rejected under Selective Service or discharged from the armed forces for psychiatric disabilities. A few grants are made for more general social and educational purposes.

Capital Assets: \$42,934,644.

Expenditures: Year ending September 30, 1944, \$1,636,420. Of this sum, grants totaled \$1,431,791.

Congregational Christian Churches.
See American Missionary Association.

Connors — William J. Connors Foundation; 557 Main Street, Buffalo 3, N.Y.; Daniel J. Kenefick, President.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information. *See* 1938 edition, American Foundations for Social Welfare.

Coolidge Foundation (1941); 70 Pine Street, New York 5, N.Y.; Louis Lionni, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A trust for the benefit of mankind. The trustees have decided to concentrate the activities of the Foundation as much as possible on the region of Southeast Asia, necessitating preparatory work for the period following the liberation of the occupied territory.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Cooper Foundation; Continental National Bank, Lincoln, Neb.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Cornell — Katharine Cornell Foundation, Inc. (1935); 1270 Sixth Avenue, New York 20, N.Y.; Katharine Cornell, President; Gertrude Macy, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by C and M C Productions, Inc., with Katharine Cornell and others. The funds are to be used "exclusively for educational, scientific or charitable purposes, especially where these purposes apply to the theatrical profession." Contributions have been made to theatrical charities and to individuals in the theatrical profession.

Capital Assets: \$187,448.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$3,627, of which grants constituted \$3,465.

Cowles — Gardner Cowles Foundation (1934); 715 Locust Street, Des Moines 4, Iowa; Gardner Cowles, Jr., President; Florence Cowles Kruidenier, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Gifts of this Foundation, whose donors were Gardner Cowles and Florence C. Cowles, have been largely confined to Iowa schools and colleges for scholarship funds, endowment funds, or for general needs. The largest gifts have been made to Drake University for a men's dormitory, library, and science hall; to Grinnell College for a men's dormitory; to Simpson College for a science hall; and to Des Moines Negro Community Center for a new building.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Crabtree — Trustees under the Will of Lotta M. Crabtree (1928); 619 Washington Street, Boston 11, Mass.; Frederic H. Chase, George A. Parker, William M. Prest, Trustees.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Lotta M. Crabtree for charitable purposes. Funds are to be used for hospitals, musical education, dumb animals, and Christmas gifts; to provide assistance to disabled veterans of World War I, needy actors, and discharged convicts; and to establish graduates of Massachusetts College in agriculture. Current activities include the fields of health, education, social welfare, and economics.

Capital Assets: \$3,351,992.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$187,035. Of this sum, grants totaled \$9,120.

Cranbrook Foundation (1927); Bloomfield Hills, Mich.; George G. Booth, Chairman; Cecil Billington, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by George G. Booth "to add to and strengthen the education and cultural facilities within the State of Michigan."

Capital Assets: \$6,658,000.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$181,000, of which sum grants constituted \$132,500.

Crawford Student Loan Fund (1924); c/o W. D. Hinson, United States National Bank, Portland 8, Ore.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Culpeper — Charles E. Culpeper Foundation, Inc. (1940); 1 East 42d Street, New York 17, N.Y.; Mrs. George W. Sperl, President.

Purpose and Activities: At the date of this inquiry, this Foundation had not yet started to operate.

Daly — Bernard Daly Educational Fund (1922); Lakeview, Ore.; B. K. Snyder, Chairman.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Danforth Foundation (1927); 835 South 8th Street, St. Louis 2, Mo.; William H. Danforth, President; Donald Danforth, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by William Danforth "for purely charitable, educational, and religious purposes, and to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the United States." Current interests have been in the field of religion and the awarding of scholarships.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Danks — Benjamin Hadley Danks Foundation; c/o H. J. Muff, Irving Trust Company, 1 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: At the date of this inquiry, the Foundation had not begun to function. Under the terms of the Will of Roy Lyndon Danks his widow is entitled to all of the income from the residuary estate for life. At her death the income is to be disbursed by the trustee (Irving Trust Company) in the form of annual awards to individuals who qualify as the best playwright, musical composer, and author of the best literary work, book, or novel published in the United States each year. In the case of playwrights, only first plays will be considered.

Danziger¹ — Abraham L. Danziger Trust; 22 William Street, New York 5, N.Y.; City Bank Farmers Trust Company, Trustee.

Purpose and Activities: To supply surgical appliances, trusses, abdominal belts, braces, crutches, etc., to needy patients through the social service departments of such charitable public hospitals, maintained in whole or in part by the City of New York, as the trustee may allocate.

Capital Assets: \$325,000.

Expenditures: Average annual grants to hospitals \$8,500.

Dayton Foundation (1918); 700 Nicollet Avenue, Minneapolis 2, Minn.; G. Nelson Dayton, President.

Purpose and Activities: This organization (not to be confused with the community trust of the same name in Dayton, Ohio) is a family foundation established by Mr. and Mrs. George D. Dayton. Its income is donated to local and religious organizations.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Approximately \$80,000 per year.

Dayton Foundation (1921); 121 West Second Street, Dayton 2, Ohio; Don D. Batelle, Director.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, established by John H. Patterson and others for the purpose of assisting public charitable, benevolent, or educational institutions; improving living and working conditions; and promoting care of the sick and aged, public recreation, social and domestic hygiene, and scientific research. The Foundation's current interest is child welfare.

Capital Assets: \$253,626.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$7,959. Of this sum, grants constituted \$6,165.

Dazian Foundation for Medical Research (1939); 142 West 44th Street, New York 18, N.Y.; Dr. Emanuel Libman, President; Dr. Edward Stern, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Henry Dazian, this organization gives aid to graduates in medicine for advanced education along special lines, and makes grants-in-aid to institutions for special pieces of research. At present as much income as possible is being accumulated to aid returning medical officers.

Capital Assets: \$1,300,000.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Debs Memorial Radio Fund, Inc. (1928); 117 West 46th Street, New York 19, N.Y.; Adolph Held, President; Benjamin Grabiner, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Fund was created as a memorial to Eugene Victor Debs, its purpose being to maintain a free and open forum for the discussion of political, social, economic, and other questions. It is a stock corporation, with stock held by 25 trustees. No dividends are paid to stockholders; any surplus is used for improving radio facilities. Commercial broadcasts during a part of the Fund's radio time are the source of income. Educational, social, and economic programs are broadcast during the evening hours without charge and are not sponsored.

Capital Assets: \$535,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$228,000.

de Hirsch — Baron de Hirsch Fund, Inc. (1890); 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.; George W. Naumburg, President; George Bookstaver, Managing Director.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by the Baron and Baroness de Hirsch, this Fund is devoted to the education and relief of Hebrew immigrants from Europe, chiefly from Russia and Roumania, and the education and relief of the children of such immigrants. Its purposes include training of immigrants and their children in a handicraft; contributing to their support while learning; instruction in the English language, in the duties and obligations of life and citizenship in the United States, and establishment and subvention of schools, workshops, and other suitable agencies for such instruction; instruction in agricultural work and

¹ Data received too late for statistical treatment.

improved methods of farming, and loans to agriculturists; co-operation with established agencies furnishing aid, relief, and education to applicants within the classes designated; and aiding individuals and families while awaiting work and while on their way to, and when settled in, new homes in the United States. At present the Fund subsidizes the Jewish Agricultural Society, whose purpose is to encourage and advance farming by Jews in the United States, and other agencies doing Americanization and citizenship work.

Capital Assets: \$3,669,398.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$112,167. Of this sum, \$83,885 represented grants.

Delaware School Foundation; c/o Gerald Montaigne, 4116 DuPont Building, Wilmington 98, Del.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Denver Foundation (1925); 630 Symes Building, Denver, Colo.; Leroy McWhinney, Secretary, Trustees Committee.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Detroit Community Trust (1915); c/o Detroit Trust Company, 201 West Fort Street, Detroit 31, Mich.; Ralph Stone, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The purposes of this community trust are as follows: "For assisting charitable and educational institutions; for promoting education; for scientific research; for care of the sick, aged or helpless; for the care of children; for the betterment of living and working conditions; for recreation for all classes, and for such other public, educational, charitable and benevolent purposes as will best make for the mental, moral and physical improvement of the inhabitants of the City of Detroit, as now or hereafter constituted, regardless of race, color or religion." Current interests include the handicapped, child welfare, and recreation.

Capital Assets: \$328,230.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$6,924.

Dietrich Foundation, Inc.; Delaware Trust Building, Wilmington, Del.; W. W. Cashour, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Diffenbaugh — Harry J. Diffenbaugh Fund for Deserving Students (1932); c/o First National Bank of Kansas City, Kansas City 10, Mo.; Edgar O. Bragg and the Bank, Trustees.

Purpose and Activities: The Will of Mr. Diffenbaugh directs that the trustees shall make loans to "worthy, deserving, and needy" students (who must be residents of Missouri) and provides that no loan exceeding the sum of \$500 shall be made to any one student in any one school year. Loans are limited to students attending the University of Kansas, Baker University (Baldwin, Kansas), and University of Illinois.

Capital Assets: \$274,353.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$14,781 in student loans.

Dillon — Douglas Dillon Fund; c/o C. Douglas Dillon, 28 Nassau Street, New York 5, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Dodge — Cleveland H. Dodge Foundation, Inc. (1917); 40 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.; Cleveland E. Dodge, President; Richard C. Van Varick, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The policy of this Foundation is to continue support to certain charitable and educational organizations in which Cleveland H. Dodge, its founder, was particularly interested during his lifetime.

Capital Assets: \$2,917,526.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$147,036.

Duke Endowment (1924); 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.; George G. Allen, Chairman; Alex. H. Sands, Jr., Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by James B. Duke "to make provision in some measure for the needs of mankind along physical, mental, and spiritual lines," this foundation is largely restricted in operation to North and South Carolina. Distribution of income is detailed in the Indenture. The first 20 per cent must be accumulated, until the accumulation reaches \$40,000,000, the approximate amount of the original gift. Of the distributable income, 32 per cent is assigned to Duke University, 14 per cent to other named colleges, 32 per cent to hospitals, 10 per cent to institutions for orphans or half-orphans, 10 per cent for building and operating churches, 2 per cent for ministerial pensions.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Dula — Caleb C. and Julia W. Dula Educational and Charitable Foundation; c/o Walter E. Dunnington, Dunnington, Bartholow and Miller, 1 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Duluth Community Trust (1943); 410 Moore Welfare Building, Duluth 2, Minn.; Fred W. Buck, President; Arthur B. Miller, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, set up "to aid and assist charitable corporations, associations, or agencies engaged in furthering educational, benevolent, and charitable purposes, including hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged and disabled, the relief of the poor, family welfare agencies, and educational and character building agencies."

Capital Assets: \$17,181.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$144.

Durham Foundation (1940); P.O. Box 931, Durham, N.C.; Frank D. Bozarth, Director.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, organized for the permanent administration of funds placed in trust for public, educational, or charitable purposes. To date only one gift has been received by the Foundation, namely the

"Hillandale Golf Course Trust under the Durham Foundation," and its activities have been limited to the field of athletics (golf, tennis, etc.) with use of facilities restricted to whites.

Capital Assets: \$53,339.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Earhart Foundation; 2746 Penobscot Building, Detroit, Mich.; James A. Kennedy, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Economic and Business Foundation, Inc. (1940); New Wilmington, Pa.; Capt. William McKee, President; E. Perry Beatty, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by a group of founders to conduct, sponsor, and promote education and research in economics, business, finance, political science, sociology, government, and all allied fields of knowledge and activity by all effective means and methods. The Foundation has been active chiefly in the fields of education (scholarships) and social welfare. Other interests include workers, wages, and conditions of employment; government and public administration; and international relations.

Capital Assets: \$40,017.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1945, \$23,809.

Educational Aid Fund, Massachusetts State Grange (1911); 49 Myrtle Terrace, Winchester, Mass.; Harry E. Gardner, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: "The Educational Aid Fund was created to aid worthy young Grange men and women to secure a higher education," with the latter term defined as schooling beyond the high-school level which fits a person for his life's work.

Capital Assets: \$149,090.

Expenditures: Year ending September 30, 1944, \$4,101. Of this sum \$2,303 represented loans and scholarships.

Ehrmann — Herman A. and Amelia S. Ehrmann Foundation (1943); Room 1500, 29 Broadway, New York 6, N.Y.; George F. Sauer, President; William E. Friedman, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Mrs. Amelia S. Ehrmann for "the benefit of indigent, abandoned, neglected or handicapped children without regard to race or creed."

Capital Assets: \$250,000.

Expenditures: For the last six months of the calendar year 1944, \$12,168. Of this sum, grants totaled \$11,140.

Eisner and Lubin Foundation; c/o Joseph I. Lubin, 521 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

El Pomar Foundation (1937); Broadmoor Hotel, Colorado Springs, Colo.; Mrs. Julie V. L. Penrose, President; John A. Caruthers, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Spencer Penrose for the purpose of contributing to charitable, educational, and religious organizations within the state of Colorado. The Foundation is currently active in the fields of health, education, and religion.

Capital Assets: \$14,415,973.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$349,166, of which grants constituted \$315,789.

Elks National Foundation (1928); 16 Court Street, Boston 8, Mass.; John F. Malley, Chairman, Board of Trustees; Floyd E. Thompson, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation became an institution of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks by virtue of the constitutional amendment adopted by the Grand Lodge in 1928. Its purpose is to foster, promote, and assist in financing the welfare activities of the Order, primarily those carried on by groups of subordinate lodges. Current emphases include work for the handicapped (crippled children and tuberculous patients) and the awarding of scholarships.

Capital Assets: \$879,826.

Expenditures: Year ending May 31, 1944, \$18,100, all of which was distributed as grants.

Emerson — Fred L. Emerson Foundation, Inc. (1932); 96 Genesee Street, Auburn, N.Y.; Fred L. Emerson, President; W. C. Hooper, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: This Foundation, established by Fred L. Emerson, may apply income or principal within the United States and its possessions for exclusively public purposes to "any charitable, benevolent, religious, scientific, literary, or educational organizations and/or associations, for the general uses and purposes thereof, for fellowships, memberships, or scholarships therein, or for the endowment of their activities."

Capital Assets: \$2,606,120.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$101,090.

Emery — Thomas J. Emery Memorial; 2766 Baker Place, Cincinnati 6, Ohio; Charles J. Livingood, President.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information. See 1938 edition, American Foundations for Social Welfare.

Emigre Charitable Fund, Inc. (1934); 570 Lexington Avenue, New York 21, N.Y.; Charles J. Liebman, President.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Esco Fund Committee, Inc.; c/o Mrs. Frank Cohen, 521 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Falk — Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation (1929); Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh 22, Pa.; J. Steele Gow, Executive Director; I. A. Simon, Secretary, Board of Managers.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Maurice Falk, the Articles of Agreement creating the Foundation state its general purpose as "the encouragement, improvement and betterment of mankind." By decision of its board of managers, the Falk Foundation attempts to fulfill this general purpose by making grants

to economic research organizations in support of studies of specific problems basically affecting the development of the American economy. The majority of the economic research studies now being financed deal primarily with problems of demobilization and economic reconstruction after the war. As a result of wartime conditions, the Foundation is currently making a few out-of-program grants to organizations like the United War Fund and the American Red Cross, but such grants do not indicate an intention to support social agencies after the war.

Capital Assets: \$5,117,819.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$362,421. Of this sum, grants represented \$332,500.

Farm Foundation (1933); 600 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago 5, Ill.; Henry C. Taylor, Managing Director; Joseph Ackerman, Associate Managing Director and Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by 22 founders to promote the general welfare of the rural population of the United States through the encouragement of co-operative effort and community organization as a means for improving the economic, social, educational, and cultural conditions of rural life; and through the stimulation of research and experimental work for the study of any economic, social, educational, and scientific problem of importance to any substantial portion of the rural population of the country. Current activities include the fields of health (medical care and health services for rural people); rural education, including scholarships; economics (land tenure, including tenancy, land ownership, and the family farm); and religion, particularly the economic training of rural ministers.

Capital Assets: \$1,543,828.

Expenditures: Year ending April 30, 1944, \$65,909. Of this sum, grants totaled \$24,900.

Feild Co-operative Association, Inc. (1919); 406 Lamar Life Building, Jackson 2, Miss.; Bernard B. Jones, President; S. Frances Sale, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A family foundation established by the four Jones brothers "to aid

and assist boys and girls in obtaining an education; to supply hospital, medical, and surgical attention and treatment for the sick and afflicted; to aid and assist the aged, indigent, and infirm; to aid and assist widows and orphans; to encourage, aid, assist or contribute towards the support of any benevolence or charity; to aid, assist, and encourage and contribute towards the support of any educational or scientific undertaking. . . ." Chief activities include student loans, aid to the handicapped, and general relief.

Capital Assets: \$1,527,292.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$158,376.

Feldman Foundation, Inc. (1943); 206 Alabama Avenue, Brooklyn 7, N.Y.; Max H. Feldman, President.

Purpose and Activities: This is a family organization set up to develop in the members of the Foundation and their children a greater consciousness of their social responsibilities. Contributions are made to educational, social welfare, and wartime agencies.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Fels — Joseph Fels Foundation (1925); 2 West 86th Street, New York 24, N.Y.; Mrs. Joseph Fels, President.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Fels — Samuel S. Fels Fund (1935); 1315 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.; Samuel S. Fels, President; Frederick P. Gruenberg, Secretary-Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Samuel S. Fels, the Fund has for its purpose the promotion of research into the causes of diseases, the study of matters pertaining to scientific diet and the dissemination of knowledge thereupon, and enlarged understanding of behavior by means of prenatal and postnatal studies, the prevention and cure of feeble-mindedness and mental disorders, the prevention of crime, and the training of youth for good citizenship.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Field Foundation, Inc. (1940); 250 Park Avenue, New York 17, N.Y., and 135 South La Salle Street, Chicago 3, Ill.; Marshall Field, President; Maxwell Hahn, Executive Vice-President.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Marshall Field exclusively for charitable, scientific, and educational purposes. Present areas of interest include education, social welfare, child welfare, race relations, and a study of scientific public-opinion polling.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Year ending September 30, 1944, \$348,442, including awards. Of this total, \$330,787 represented grants.

Filene — Edward A. Filene Good Will Fund, Inc. (1938); 31 Milk Street, Boston 9, Mass.; Percy S. Brown, Executive Director.

Purpose and Activities: The Fund, established by Edward A. Filene and previously active in the field of consumer co-operative education, is now studying problems of future policy and desires to make no present statement.

Capital Assets: \$2,342,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$97,000. Of this sum, \$60,500 represented grants.

Filene — Lincoln and Therese Filene Foundation, Inc. (1937); c/o Nutter, McClennen and Fish, 220 Devonshire Street, Boston 10, Mass.; Lincoln Filene, President; Jacob Kaplan, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Lincoln Filene for charitable, scientific, and educational purposes, including particularly the scientific investigation of the causes of economic distress. No part of the property of the corporation shall at any time be used for the purpose of carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation.

Capital Assets: \$300,000 (as of July, 1945).

Expenditures: Approximately \$13,000 annually. Of this sum, grants total approximately \$3,000.

Finney-Howell Research Foundation, Inc. (1937); 1211 Cathedral Street, Baltimore 1, Md.; Dr. Florence R. Sabin, President; Dr. William A. Fisher, Secretary-Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Dr. George Walker for the purposes of research work into the cause or causes and the treatment of cancer.

Capital Assets: \$187,057.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$13,115. Of this amount, grants totaled \$9,917.

Fischel — Harry Fischel Foundation; 276 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Fitzgerald — Thomas Fitzgerald Fund. See Franklin Foundation.

Flagler — Alice Mandelick Flagler Foundation (1923); 48 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.; William Nelson Cromwell, President; Mrs. H. Y. Kerr, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation's purposes are to relieve poverty, sickness, and infirmity and to eradicate their causes; and, more particularly, to encourage the training of nurses and to promote their comfort and welfare. As yet no substantial funds have been received by the Foundation, but when such funds are available they will be applied in accordance with the above purposes.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Fleischmann — Charles Fleischmann Endowment (1926); c/o Provident Savings Bank and Trust Company, 7th and Vine Streets, Cincinnati 19, Ohio.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Ford Foundation (1936); 3000 Schaefer Road, Dearborn, Mich.; Henry Ford II, President; Frank Campsall, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The donors of this fund are Henry Ford and Edsel B. Ford. It is organized "to receive and administer funds for scientific, educational, and charitable purposes, all for the public welfare. . . ."

Capital Assets: Approximately \$109,000,000.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Foreign Service Educational Foundation (1943); 1906 Florida Avenue, NW., Washington 9, D.C.; Dr. Halford L. Hoskins, Director; Helen P. Emmet, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by a group of government officials, educators, and businessmen "to promote . . . the education and training of persons in the fields of government, business, international economic relations, international law, and such related fields as may fit them for better service in the foreign interest of this country at home or abroad."

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1945, \$138,618 (estimated), of which grants totaled \$117,250.

Forstmann — Carl Forstmann Memorial Foundation, Inc. (1922); 2 Barbour Avenue, Passaic, N.J.; Curt E. Forstmann, President; Minnie W. Johnson, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Julius Forstmann, the Foundation engages in various educational activities, including the granting of loans to college students residing in the immediate area of northern New Jersey, the maintenance of an adult night school for the employes of the Forstmann Woolen Company and their immediate families, the granting of scholarships to graduates of local high schools, co-operation with Rutgers University in the running of extension courses, and assisting in educational work for the blind. The granting of loans to college students was in effect suspended during the war period.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Foster Foundation (1920); Box 822, Huntington 12, W.Va.; Robert L. Archer, Secretary and Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Bradley W. Foster, the Foster Foundation's sole present interest is the construction, operation, and maintenance of a home for old ladies. Student loans, previously included in the program, have been discontinued.

Capital Assets: \$948,669.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$39,442.

Foundation for Narcotics Research; 68 Main Street, Madison, N.J.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Foundation for Scientific Research; 124 South Vermont Street, Los Angeles 4, Calif.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Franklin Foundation (1908); Berkeley and Appleton Streets, Boston 16, Mass.; B. K. Thorogood, Executive Director of Franklin Technical Institute; Reverend Charles E. Park, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Franklin Foundation is now incorporated as a department of the City of Boston, but is an entirely independent organization without political appointees. The Foundation originated from the thousand pounds sterling (\$5,000) bequeathed by Benjamin Franklin to the Town of Boston for "young married artificers," which became inoperative after a few years. In further accord with the Will, two funds were then set up, one to accumulate for 100 years, the other for 200 years. Income from the first part constructed and equipped the Franklin Technical Institute, begun in 1906, at cash expenditure of \$438,493. The second part of the fund is still accumulating, to be divided in 1991 between the "Town of Boston and the Government of the State." The Franklin Foundation also administers, as endowment for the Institute, a fund contributed by Andrew Carnegie in 1904 to match Part I of the Franklin Fund, the Storrow Gift,

and the Thomas Fitzgerald Fund. Total income presently available is restricted to operation of the Franklin Technical Institute.

Capital Assets: \$1,459,874.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$180,430.

Frick — Henry C. Frick Educational Commission (1910); 487 Union Trust Building, Pittsburgh 19, Pa.; Joseph Buffington, President; George W. Gerwig, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Henry Clay Frick established this fund "to be used in connection with the public schools and for the improvement of work done therein," limited to Pittsburgh and possibly Allegheny County. Scholarships for teachers, special lectures for students in the Pittsburgh high schools, and summer courses in social service for teachers are the major activities.

Capital Assets: \$2,469,317.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$52,759. Of this sum, \$29,186 represented grants.

Friendship Fund, Inc. (1918); 522 Fifth Avenue, New York 18, N.Y.; John O. Crane, President; Lawrason Riggs, Secretary-Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Objects of this corporation, founded by Charles R. Crane, are "to secure, establish and care for a fund or funds and expend the income and principal thereof in promotion of the welfare of humanity." Recent activities have been in the fields of education, international relations, and social welfare, including relief, with substantial wartime contributions to the National War Fund and the American Red Cross.

Capital Assets: \$324,669.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$8,870. Of this sum, \$7,525 represented grants.

Fuld — Helene Fuld Health Foundation (1935); 8 Baldwin Avenue, Jersey City 4, N.J.; Leonhard Felix Fuld, President; Florentine M. Fuld, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The purpose of this corporation, the donors of which were Leonhard Felix Fuld and Florentine M. Fuld, is the relief of poverty, suffering, sickness, and distress, and particularly the temporary relief of unobtrusive suffering endured by industrious and worthy persons. The entire income is at present being devoted to the improvement of health of student nurses.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Fuller — Anna Fuller Fund (1931); 205 Church Street, New Haven 8, Conn.; The Union and New Haven Trust Company, Trustee; William M. Maltbie, Special Trustee.

Purpose and Activities: Created by the Will of Egbert C. Fuller in memory of his wife who died of cancer, this Fund is enjoined "to alleviate suffering from disease, through: (a) research as to its cause, treatment and care; (b) the education of the Public as to its prevention and treatment; and (c) the actual treatment of persons suffering from the disease. My chief interest is in the alleviation of suffering from cancer, and no part of the income of said Fund may be used for any other purpose unless and until conditions have so changed that there is no further need for the expenditure of funds for that purpose. . . . I authorize an award or awards to such person or persons as shall at any time within successive periods of five years each, make a real and outstanding contribution to knowledge on the subject of cause, care, prevention, or cure, of cancer. Such award or awards shall not, in any five year period, exceed the sum of \$25,000."

Capital Assets: \$628,116.

Expenditures: Year ending March 5, 1944, total not stated, but grants were approximately \$25,000.

Fur Trade Foundation (1924); 224 West 30th Street, New York 1, N.Y.; Alex A. Bernstein, President; Simon J. Steiner, Secretary and Executive Director.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by members of the fur trade to assist men and women of

the white collar group in the fur business who are in want or who need to be rehabilitated. The recipients of grants must have been engaged in the fur business for at least three years.

Capital Assets: \$196,484.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$36,400. Of this sum, grants totaled \$29,770.

Future Farmers of America Foundation, Inc. (1944); 3227 Vista Street, NE., Washington 18, D.C.; W. T. Spanton, President; A. W. Tenney, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: To promote educational activities in such manner as in the judgment of the board of trustees will stimulate and promote the best interests of students and former students of vocational education in agriculture on a local, state, or national basis.

Capital Assets: \$60,484.

Expenditures: Nine-month period ending December 31, 1944, \$916.

Gaisman Foundation, Inc.; Hartsdale, N.Y.; Herbert Roth, Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Gannett — Frank E. Gannett Newspaper Foundation, Inc. (1935); 55 Exchange Street, Rochester 4, N.Y.; Frank E. Gannett, President; Herbert W. Cruickshank, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Frank E. Gannett to devote its resources exclusively to public charitable, educational, and general philanthropic uses and purposes, including, without limitation upon the foregoing purposes, the improvement, development, care, and general furtherance of the health, welfare, and well-being of the inhabitants of the communities in which newspapers owned, controlled, managed, or operated by Gannett Co., Inc., or any successor organization, shall be then published and generally circulated.

Capital Assets: \$3,900,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$16,500, all in grants.

General Education Board (1902); 49 West 49th Street, New York 20, N.Y.; Raymond B. Fosdick, President; William W. Brierley, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by John D. Rockefeller. The general object of the Board is the promotion of education within the United States of America, without distinction of race, sex, or creed. In pursuit of this object the Board has expended the income and the greater part of the principal of its funds in assistance of educational institutions, agencies, and projects. The decrease in available funds has made necessary a progressive curtailment in the Board's activities, and at present its program is limited largely, although not exclusively, to the educational needs of the southern states. Under the Board's current program the following areas receive chief consideration: (1) the fuller development of the economic and social resources of the South, both agricultural and industrial, through education and research in the fields of the social and the natural sciences, and the promotion of programs in human nutrition, forestry, and rural social and economic fields; (2) the development of a few college and university centers, with particular attention to the training of personnel, the improvement of library services, and the encouragement of co-operation among groups of institutions favorably located to meet regional needs; (3) improvement of elementary and secondary education.

Capital Assets: Total unappropriated principal fund \$16,103,357.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$7,314,045. Of this sum, grants constituted \$7,114,486.

General Welfare Fund; 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.; Alfred K. Stern, Trustee.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

George — Henry George Foundation; 808 Keystone Building, Pittsburgh 22, Pa.; Percy Williams, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Georgia Warm Springs Foundation (1927); 120 Broadway, New York 5, N.Y.; Basil O'Connor, Chairman of Executive Committee; William F. Snyder, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: To maintain a sanitarium and hospital at Warm Springs, Georgia, and to stimulate and further the work being done anywhere in the field of infantile paralysis, including the advancement and diffusion of knowledge concerning such work and the co-ordination and correlation of the efforts of all those engaged therein. Beds are reserved for Army, Navy, and Marine personnel who become victims of infantile paralysis.

Capital Assets: \$1,927,631.

Expenditures: Year ending September 30, 1944, \$501,247.

Gibson — Addison H. Gibson Foundation (1938); 1702 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh 22, Pa.; Earl F. Reed and Commonwealth Trust Company of Pittsburgh, Trustees; Emilie Roseburgh, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by the Addison H. Gibson Estate. The medical fund, consisting of one-half the income of the Foundation, is used to provide medical attention or hospital facilities for persons in the Pittsburgh vicinity who are in need of such assistance. Through the student loan fund loans are made to young men who are residents of western Pennsylvania and who have completed two years of college or university training.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Gimbel — Richard Gimbel Foundation for Literary Research; 530 North 7th Street, Philadelphia 23, Pa.; Richard Gimbel, President.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Girard Estate Residuary Fund. See Board of Directors of City Trusts, City of Philadelphia.

Glens Falls Foundation (1939); c/o First National Bank of Glens Falls, 157 Glen Street, Glens Falls, N.Y.; J. Edward Singleton, Chairman of Distribution Committee; Blake W. Francis, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, composed of the Pruyn Fund, in memory of Samuel and Eliza J. Pruyn, and several small gifts donated by various individuals. These latter are not earmarked for any specific purpose, but the Pruyn Fund is for the care of patients in the Glens Falls Hospital who are accustomed to financial self-reliance but at the time of their need are unable to provide for it.

Capital Assets: \$52,686.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$468. Of this sum, grants constituted \$380.

Golden Fund; c/o John Golden, St. James Theatre Building, 246 West 44th Street, New York 18, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Golding — Joseph Golding Foundation; 320 Central Park West, New York 25, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Good Will Fund. See Filene — Edward A. Filene Good Will Fund, Inc.

Goodman — Abraham and Mollie Goodman Foundation; 200 Varick Street, New York 13, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Goodman — Jacob and Libby Goodman Foundation; 200 Varick Street, New York 13, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Gottesman — D. S. and R. H. Gottesman Foundation; 22 East 40th Street, New York 16, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Gottesman Tree of Life Foundation, Inc.; 122 East 42d Street, New York 17, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Gottsche — William H. and Carrie Gottsche Foundation; Rock Springs National Bank, Rock Springs, Wyo.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation is not yet organized, as the Will of Mrs. Gottsche has not been completely probated. Its purpose is to construct and maintain a hospital at Thermopolis for infantile paralysis victims.

Capital Assets: \$500,000 (estimated).

Gould — Edwin Gould Foundation for Children (1923); 422 West 58th Street, New York 19, N.Y.; Charles D. Shradly, President; Schuyler M. Meyer, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Edwin Gould for the purpose of "receiving and maintaining a fund or funds and applying the income and principal thereof to promote the welfare of children in the State of New York and elsewhere throughout the United States of America and to promote and improve social and living conditions in the United States of America." The Foundation maintains its own hospital and grammar school. Current emphases include child welfare, family welfare, religion, economics, and race relations.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Grand Rapids Foundation (1922); 201 Michigan Trust Building, Grand Rapids 2, Mich.; M. R. Bissell, Jr., Chairman; H. B. Wagner, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, operating under an agreement "that the income be disbursed for such charitable and educational uses exclusively as will, in its judgment, promote the welfare of persons or institutions now or hereafter residing or situated in Grand Rapids, Michigan, or the vicinity thereof." Recent contributions have been largely in the fields of social welfare and

health, with more than half of 1944 expenditures for the Kent County War Chest.

Capital Assets: \$207,800 (not including about \$290,000 of deferred funds, subject to life uses or other encumbrance).

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$6,528, all in grants.

Grant Foundation, Inc. (1936); 1441 Broadway, New York 18, N.Y.; William T. Grant, President; Adele W. Morrison, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by William T. Grant "to assist in helping people or peoples to live more contentedly and peacefully and well in body and mind through a better knowledge of how to use and enjoy all the good things that the world has to offer them." The Foundation's chief interest has been in social adjustment and research directed toward better understanding of the individual, involving disciplines of medicine, physiology, psychology, psychiatry, anthropology, and socio-economic data.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Year ending October 31, 1944, \$119,982. Of this sum, grants totaled \$116,750.

Granthale Foundation, Inc.; Room 1703, 654 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Griffith Music Foundation (1939); 605 Broad Street, Newark 2, N.J.; Mrs. Parker O. Griffith, President; Parker O. Griffith, Secretary and Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation, established by Mrs. Parker O. Griffith, was organized for the purpose of giving the people of New Jersey, regardless of race, color, or creed, the best possible opportunities of hearing and learning about the world's greatest music at prices within the reach of every pocket-book. All of the great artists and great orchestras have been presented in Newark on this basis, the Foundation taking care of deficits incurred. An extensive program of musical education is carried on by the Foundation. Believing that music furnishes a common interest

in a community for which all races and all creeds can work, the Foundation has developed a practical plan whereby this can be accomplished in the local setting.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Grosberg Family Charity Fund, Inc.

(1930); 60 Congress Street, Boston 9, Mass.;

Mrs. Sarah A. Grosberg, President; Leonard Caplan, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established under the Will of Oscar Grosberg for benevolent, charitable, or educational purposes. Major emphases have been in the fields of health and family welfare.

Capital Assets: \$115,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$4,750 in grants.

Guggenheim — Daniel and Florence Guggenheim Foundation (1924); 120

Broadway, New York 5, N.Y.; Commander

Harry F. Guggenheim, USNR, President;

F. A. Collins, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Daniel Guggenheim and Florence Guggenheim, this corporation has as its objective "the promotion, through charitable and benevolent activities, of the well-being of mankind throughout the world."

Capital Assets: \$3,476,000.

Expenditures: Year ending March 31, 1944, \$136,229. Of this sum, \$124,518 represented grants.

Guggenheim — Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation; 120 Broadway, New

York 5, N.Y.; F. A. Collins, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Guggenheim — John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation (1925);

551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.; Mrs.

Simon Guggenheim, President; Henry Al-

len Moe, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by the Hon. and Mrs. Simon Guggenheim ". . . to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge

and understanding and the appreciation of beauty, by aiding without distinction on account of race, color or creed, scholars, scientists and artists of either sex in the prosecution of their labors and by such other lawful means as the Trustees shall from time to time deem appropriate." All of the Foundation grants of funds are made in terms of fellowships to assist young scholars and creative workers in the arts to carry on their work. The Foundation's fellowships are available to citizens and permanent residents of the United States, to Canadians, and, under a Latin-American fellowship plan to Puerto Ricans and to citizens of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, Peru, and Uruguay. The Foundation has set aside \$200,000 of accumulated income to provide stipends for fellowships to be awarded to young scholars and artists who are serving the nation in the armed and other governmental services.

Capital Assets: \$19,460,932.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$235,057, of which grants constituted \$159,200.

Guggenheim — Murry and Leonie Guggenheim Foundation (1929); 120

Broadway, New York 5, N.Y.; Edmond

A. Guggenheim, President; Llewellyn L.

Thomas, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Murry and Leonie Guggenheim for "the promotion, through charitable and benevolent activities, of the well-being of mankind throughout the world"; and more particularly to create an agency (the Murry and Leonie Guggenheim Dental Clinic) for the purpose of "affording charitable and benevolent assistance to the children of Greater New York through the practical application of dentistry and oral hygiene to the children of New York City, or for the benefit of those who for financial or other reasons are unable to secure the benefits of oral hygiene and adequate dental care." The total amount of grants dispensed by the Foundation during the past year was paid to the Dental Clinic.

Capital Assets: \$8,000,000.

Expenditures: Year ending March 31, 1944, \$175,438. Of this sum, grants constituted \$175,000.

Guggenheim — Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation (1937); 120 Broadway, New York 5, N.Y.; Baroness Hilla Rebay, Curator and Director of Museum.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Solomon R. Guggenheim "to provide for the promotion of art and for the mental or moral improvement of men and women by furthering their education, enlightenment and esthetic taste and by developing the understanding and appreciation of art by the public." The Foundation promotes the study of Non-Objective painting and furthers the education of the public through the exhibition of its large Non-Objective collection at its temporary museum, Art of Tomorrow, at 24 East 54th Street, New York City, where periodical special exhibitions and lectures are given. A permanent building to house the collection will be erected at Fifth Avenue and 89th Street, New York. The Foundation also provides scholarships and monetary grants for worthy artists.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Gumpert-Janover Foundation; 9402 104th Street, Ozone Park, L.I., N.Y.; Daniel W. Janover, President.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Haas — David Haas Memorial Fund; Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, 50th Street and Park Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Haft — Harry G. and Tillie W. Haft Foundation; 500 Seventh Avenue, New York 18, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Haft — Jules G. and Ruth B. Haft Foundation; 500 Seventh Avenue, New York 18, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Haft — Morris and Fannie B. Haft Foundation, Inc.; 500 Seventh Avenue, New York 18, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Hall — Charles M. Hall Fund. *See* American Missionary Association.

Hall — Herbert D. Hall Foundation (1940); 1060 Broad Street, Newark 1, N.J.; Herbert D. Hall, President; Charlotte L. Petren, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Herbert D. Hall, the Foundation has as its purpose the development of industrial educational methods and facilities.

Capital Assets: \$57,560.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$10,000.

Hall — Martha M. Hall Foundation; 6 East 45th Street, New York 17, N.Y.; James J. Morgan, Chairman.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Hanauer — Jerome and Carrie Hanauer Fund, Inc. (1935); c/o Kuhn, Loeb and Company, 52 William Street, New York 5, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Hand — Daniel Hand Fund. *See* American Missionary Association.

Handley Board of Trustees (1896); Winchester, Va.; Clifford D. Grim, President; C. Vernon Eddy, Secretary and Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Judge John Handley who bequeathed \$250,000 to the city of Winchester, Virginia, to be held until this sum should amount to \$500,000, at which time a public library should be erected for the free use of the people of Winchester. A second bequest gave the residue of his estate to the city of Winchester to be accumulated

for the period of twenty years when the income should be expended in the erection of school houses in Winchester for the education of the poor.

Capital Assets: \$1,122,393.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$41,521.

Harbison-Walker Foundation, Inc.

(1940); 1800 Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh 22, Pa.; Raymond Willey, President; P. R. Hilleman, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Lee C. Morganroth for the purpose of "assisting worthy employees, or past employees, of Harbison-Walker Refractories Company, or their families, in case of sickness or distress, or in the education of their children; of augmenting any pensions paid by the Company to its employees, past or present, or their families; for erecting or contributing towards the erection of libraries, churches, community houses, recreational centres, or other educational or religious institutions in localities in which there are works, plants or mines of the said Harbison-Walker Refractories Company."

Capital Assets: \$225,000.

Expenditures: None made in 1944, as share of estate not received until early in 1945.

Harmon Foundation, Inc. (1922); 140 Nassau Street, New York 7, N.Y.; Mary Beattie Brady, Director.

Purpose and Activities: To promote the well-being of mankind, through stimulating self-help. The Foundation does not make grants but engages in speculative pioneering humanitarian enterprises which give promise of rendering a constructive contribution to public well-being; studies student aid procedure; and experiments with the making and distributing of educational, religious, and socially useful still and motion pictures, and other visual aids designed for creative use. A consultation service is available for public welfare agencies. A film rental and leasing service is maintained and training in visual production research and filming procedures is available by arrangement, with special attention to graduate foreign students. The Foundation is concerned

with Negro achievement with particular reference to art. It has assisted in establishing approximately 125 play areas in the United States, and maintains an information and advisory service regarding the problems incident to the establishment of permanent recreation space. The Foundation is handling the work of the Religious Motion Picture Foundation, now inactive.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Harnischfeger Foundation; 4400 West National Avenue, Milwaukee 14, Wis.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Harriman — E. L. Harriman Fund.

See Trudeau — Edward L. Trudeau Foundation.

Harriman — Mary W. Harriman Trust (1925); 59 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.; J. S. Powell, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Harrison — Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation (1919); 311 South Juniper Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.; Malcolm Lloyd, Jr., Chairman; Clarence G. Shenton, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation was set up in the Will of Thomas Skelton Harrison, which enumerates a number of specific purposes which may be summed up as promoting good government in Philadelphia. Activities are confined to financing research and dissemination of information on various municipal problems.

Capital Assets: \$657,109.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$17,156. Of this sum, \$15,275 represented grants.

Hartford Foundation for Public Giving (1925); 49 Pearl Street, Hartford 3, Conn.; Charles A. Goodwin, Chairman, Distribution Committee; Spencer Gross, Secretary, Distribution Committee.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, set up for the purpose of "assisting charitable and educational institutions; for promoting education; for scientific research; for care of the needy, sick, aged, or helpless; for care of children; for the betterment of living and working conditions; for recreation for all classes; and for such other public and/or charitable uses and purposes as will best make for mental, moral, and physical improvement, or contribute to the public welfare, according to the unfettered discretion of a majority of all the members of a distribution committee." The Foundation is currently active in the fields of health, education, social welfare, race relations, and recreation.

Capital Assets: \$651,984.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$21,816, of which grants constituted \$19,316.

Hartford — John A. Hartford Foundation, Inc.; Room 2216, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Hartley Corporation (1921); Norfolk, Conn.; Mrs. Grace Hartley Mead, President; Winter Mead, Treasurer, 14 Revere Road, Morristown, N.J.

Purpose and Activities: The Corporation was established by Mrs. Helen Hartley Jenkins to "promote the well being of mankind by the disbursement of moneys for charitable, benevolent or educational purposes." Health, education, and social welfare are its main interests.

Capital Assets: \$200,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$3,800 in grants.

Harvard-Yenching Institute (1928); 17 Boylston Hall, Cambridge, Mass.; Serge Elisséeff, Director; Florence T. Bayley, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: This Institute was established by the trustees of the Will of Charles M. Hall. Its purposes are "to conduct and provide research, instruction and publication in the culture of China, and/or elsewhere in Con-

tinental Asia and Japan, and/or Turkey and the Balkan States in Europe, by founding, developing, supporting, maintaining and/or conducting one or more educational institutions . . . and to carry on, for properly prepared Chinese and Occidental scholars, research and educational work of the type appropriate to a graduate school of arts and sciences . . . to develop undergraduate work in China; to explore, discover, collect and preserve objects of culture and antiquities, or to aid museums or others to do so. . . ."

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Hastings Foundation (1943); 800 First Trust Building, Pasadena 1, Calif.; Ernest Crawford May, President; Lloyd W. Brooke, Secretary-Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: The Will of the late Charles H. Hastings provided that a corporation be formed to operate a charitable sanatorium to be known as "The Charles Cook Hastings Home," being the name of his father. The purposes are the study, prevention, treatment, and cure of tuberculosis. The sanatorium was not yet in operation at the time of this report.

Capital Assets: Approximately \$3,000,000.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Hatcher. See Pickett and Hatcher Educational Fund, Inc.

Havens Relief Fund Society (1871); 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.; Augustus N. Hand, President; Edward S. Blagden, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Society was founded by Charles G. Havens for ". . . the relief of poverty and distress, and especially the affording of temporary relief to unobtrusive suffering endured by industrious or worthy persons. . . ." Funds may be contributed to such benevolent and charitable institutions "as shall be deemed most useful and deserving or judicious." The Society has "the right to employ and superintend almoners."

Current emphases include family welfare and relief.

Capital Assets: \$2,103,257.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$63,928.

Hawaiian Foundation; c/o Hawaiian Trust Company, Ltd., Honolulu 2, Hawaii.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, administering a number of charitable funds.

Capital Assets: \$99,693.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Hawley Welfare Foundation (1927); 807 Fleming Building, Des Moines 8, Iowa; Louis H. Kurtz, President; Dutton Stahl, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Henry B. Hawley established the Foundation as a community trust for the city of Des Moines. Funds are to be used to assist others to help themselves, to strengthen ties of family life, to do research work, and to give assistance to welfare or other organizations or to individuals without regard to race, creed, or other affiliation.

Capital Assets: Not stated. Substantial bequests from the estates of Mr. and Mrs. Hawley are expected to be distributed to the Foundation in the near future.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Hayden — Charles Hayden Foundation (1937); 25 Broad Street, New York 4, N.Y.; J. Willard Hayden, President; Edgar A. Doubleday, Executive Vice-President and Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Charles Hayden gave his residuary estate of more than \$50,000,000 in trust to establish a foundation, stating in his Will that he was "firmly convinced that the future of this nation, and of the world for that matter, depends in no small part upon the young men of the United States, and that if they receive proper training in boyhood and youth, through education, mental recreation, wholesome educational entertainment and coordinated physical training, and more than all if in addition they be fostered and encouraged in the manner of right and proper living and

the principles thereof properly inculcated, to the end that they may be kept from evil environments and guarded against baneful influences, we shall rear a nobler race of men who will make better and more enlightened citizens, to the ultimate benefit of mankind." In carrying out these purposes the Foundation is to give preference to New York City and Boston, though this limitation is not absolute.

Capital Assets: \$50,000,000.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Hayes — Rutherford B. Hayes-Lucy Webb Hayes Foundation (1921); Hayes Memorial, Fremont, Ohio; Arthur C. Johnson, Sr., President; Capt. Webb C. Hayes, II, U.S.N.R., Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Col. Webb C. Hayes as a memorial to Rutherford B. Hayes. The Foundation's chief purpose is to encourage historical research. The details are left to the trustees, but they are empowered to grant to the director of research the right to gather material into the Hayes Memorial Library, arrange for publication, and found educational or charitable institutions. The trustees are now limiting the scope of the Foundation's research to America during Reconstruction and after, about 1865 to 1900. Grants were suspended for the duration of the war period.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Year ending September 30, 1944, \$14,000.

Haynes — John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation (1926); 2324 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles 7, Calif.; Francis H. Lindley, President; Anne M. Mumford, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes for the promotion of appropriate research and education relating to civic, economic, social, industrial, educational, and living conditions (particularly of working people), and the dissemination of all knowledge so gained as widely as possible to the end that the people of California and of the United States may be suit-

ably educated, advised, and informed thereupon. The Foundation is active in the fields of economics, city and regional planning, housing, and race relations.

Capital Assets: \$1,405,932 (as of April 1945).

Expenditures: Year ending August 31, 1944, \$66,602, of which \$52,644 represented expenditures for grants and research program.

Hazen — Edward W. Hazen Foundation, Inc. (1925); Haddam, Conn.; Charles A. Russell, President; Paul J. Braisted, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Edward W. Hazen "to promote the public welfare either by supporting existing agencies or through independent activities of this corporation, such agencies or activities to be exclusively religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational in character." Chief emphasis has been placed on the relationship of religion and higher education, student counseling and guidance, and conferences and publications in these and related fields. During the war period the Foundation's program included conferences, studies, and publications in the field of international student exchange and cultural co-operation.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Heckscher Foundation for Children (1921); 1 East 104th Street, New York 29, N.Y.; Mrs. Arthur Smadbeck, President and Director; William Dickinson Hart, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by August Heckscher "to promote the welfare of children in the State of New York and elsewhere throughout the United States of America. It shall be within the purpose of said corporation as a means to that end, to establish and maintain benevolent, educational, industrial, recreational and welfare activities." Present activities include day nursery, toymaking, girls' game room, boys' game room, workshop, sewing, billiard and ping pong room, swimming, basketball, baseball, gymnasium exercise, psychological

clinic, piano lessons, tap dancing, ballet dancing, art, singing, chorus, dramatics, symphony orchestra, and play production.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Heinz — Howard Heinz Endowment (1941); Box 926, Pittsburgh 30, Pa.; Henry J. Heinz, II, President; J. P. Corcoran, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established under the Will of Howard Heinz, the Endowment may distribute income and principal "to and among such corporations within the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or education purposes."

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Hellmann — Richard Hellmann Foundation, Inc. (1929); Harwood Building, Scarsdale, N.Y.; Richard Hellmann, President; Gustav A. Schwenk, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Richard Hellmann to alleviate suffering, illness, poverty, and the consequences of old age, individually or in groups; to contribute toward education and the dissemination of knowledge; and to furnish shelter, temporary or permanent, for individuals or groups, and to aid individuals to secure a livelihood.

Capital Assets: \$56,205.

Expenditures: Year ending December 8, 1944, \$888.

Hershey Industrial School (1909); Hershey, Pa.; P. A. Staples, Chairman, Board of Managers; A. Whiteman, Secretary-Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Mr. and Mrs. M. S. Hershey to establish "a free educational and trade institute and home for normal, white, orphan boys."

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Heye Foundation. See Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

Hofheimer — Nathan Hofheimer Foundation, Inc. (1919); 41 East 57th Street, New York 22, N.Y.; Mrs. Lester Hofheimer, President; Mrs. Harry Frank, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Nathan Hofheimer to promote the improvement of living conditions of unfortunate persons by research and publications as well as by the establishment of benevolent activities and agencies. Mental hygiene, the handicapped, child welfare, family welfare, and relief are included among the Foundation's chief fields of interest.

Capital Assets: \$1,715,254.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$90,854, of which grants constituted \$86,250.

Holmes Foundation, Inc.; Room 3611, 122 East 42d Street, New York 17, N.Y.; Albert F. Dahling, Vice-President and Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: This Foundation was established under the Will of Mrs. Christian R. Holmes. It is still in process of organization and statements of policy are not now available.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Hood — Charles H. Hood Dairy Foundation (1942); 500 Rutherford Avenue, Boston 29, Mass.; Harvey P. Hood, President; Charles W. Barker, Secretary pro tem.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Charles H. Hood for the benefit of children of New England milk producers, children of the employes of H. P. Hood and Sons, and the general promotion of child health. The Foundation is currently active in the educational field, in addition to its interest in the field of health.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Horowitz — The Louis J. and Mary E. Horowitz Foundation, Inc. (1922); 60 East 42d Street, New York 17, N.Y.; Louis Caplan, President; George R. Schmidt, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Louis J. and Mary E. Horowitz as a trust fund. During the twenty-two-year period, 1922-1944, grants have been made to educational and philanthropic activities of especial interest to the founders. These grants have included seven fields: technical education, general education, medicine and public health, relief, religion and tolerance, social welfare, and war agencies. Of the total distributed, 70 per cent was spent for technical education in building construction and engineering. In 1944 the Foundation was incorporated, at which time one of its primary purposes was stated to be the furtherance ". . . of tolerance among human beings, including promotion of amity, cooperation, justice, and understanding among Protestants, Catholics, Jews and all other persons in the United States and elsewhere, to the end that relations among such groups may be improved and prejudices among them may be eliminated." The trustees of the Foundation are presently engaged in a review of its past program and in a formulation of a new program to carry out the above stated purpose.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Howard — Charles S. Howard Foundation; 1601 Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco 9, Calif.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Howell. See Finney-Howell Research Foundation, Inc.

Humphreys Foundation (1921); c/o First National Bank Building, Denver 2, Colo.; I. B. Humphreys, Vice-President; A. E. Humphreys, Jr., Secretary and Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined. See 1938 edition, American Foundations for Social Welfare.

Hunt. See Baker-Hunt Foundation, Inc.

Hunter — A. V. Hunter Charitable Trust; International Trust Building, Denver, Colo.; George W. Trimble, Trustee.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Hutchins — Mary J. Hutchins Foundation, Inc.; 110 William Street, New York 7, N.Y.; R. R. Harrison, Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Hyams — Trustees of the Godfrey M. Hyams Trust (1921); Room 750, 49 Federal Street, Boston 10, Mass.; Harry LeBaron Sampson, Chairman.

Purpose and Activities: This fund was established under declaration of trust by Godfrey M. Hyams. The trustees are authorized to pay the net income in every year to such charitable corporations as they may determine. In the exercise of this discretion, the trustees have adopted the general policy, which has rarely been departed from, of making contributions only to charitable corporations in Boston and vicinity. It should be noted that in addition to not assisting organizations whose work is so far from Boston that the trustees are not in a position to have personal knowledge of it, it is also the general policy of the trustees not to assist educational institutions.

Capital Assets: Approximately \$10,000,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$415,710 in grants.

Hyde — Lillia Babbitt Hyde Foundation (1924); 535 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.; Charles C. Harris, President; William C. Speers, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Lillia Babbitt Hyde to erect, establish, operate, and maintain benevolent and charitable institutions; to provide and furnish medical and surgical aid, medicines, and nursing to persons in need or to provide home and shelter and proper care and treatment for convalescents or for aged or indigent or infirm persons, and to assist in the support and maintenance of other benevolent and charitable institutions or organizations created for similar purposes; and to promote

and carry on research work necessary to the proper study, prevention, relief, or cure of disease. During the war period, gifts were made to the American Red Cross and to service organizations.

Capital Assets: \$4,969,508.

Expenditures: Total not stated, but grants for 1944 were \$58,800.

Independent Aid, Inc. (1934); Room 3400, 41 East 57th Street, New York 22, N.Y.; Marian Paschal, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Doris Duke Cromwell as a fund which should operate exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, and/or educational purposes.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Indianapolis Foundation (1916); 1012 Hume Mansur Building, Indianapolis 4, Ind.; J. K. Lilly, Chairman, Board of Trustees; Eugene C. Foster, Director.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, set up to promote the welfare of persons residing in Indianapolis. The Foundation's interests include child welfare, recreation, the handicapped, and the granting of scholarships.

Capital Assets: \$2,596,160.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$114,870. Of this sum, grants constituted \$105,562.

Industrial Hygiene Foundation of America, Inc. (1935); 4400 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh 13, Pa.; John F. McMahon, Managing Director.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation, an association of industries for the advancement of healthful working conditions, was first incorporated as the Air Hygiene Foundation of America, Inc., and changed to its present title in 1941. Its purpose is to conduct and stimulate investigation and research in the field of industrial hygiene and gather and disseminate factual information relating thereto. It also co-operates with other agencies active in this field. The Foundation makes a two-way approach to

the maintenance and advancement of healthful working conditions in industry: the support of medical and engineering research on industrial health problems, both in the laboratory and in the plant; and the providing of practical services, including industrial hygiene surveys and periodic publications.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Intercultural Foundation for Arts and Sciences; 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.; Frederic R. Briggs, President.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

International Cancer Research Foundation (1932); 1916 Lincoln-Liberty Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.; William H. Donner, President; Mildred W. S. Schram, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by William H. Donner "to further research into the causes, prevention, control, relief and cure of those diseases . . . commonly called Cancer. Neither the principal nor income of the Foundation shall be used in the construction of buildings; neither shall the principal nor income be expended on any equipment." The Foundation plans to expend its income for research in any branch of science which looks most promising for a solution of the cancer problem; subject, however, to the provision in the Plan of the Foundation that at least 35 per cent and not more than 50 per cent shall be allotted outside the United States. In addition to its interest in cancer research, the Foundation has organized and sponsored several health maintenance-cancer prevention clinics in Philadelphia. Fellowships have also been granted.

Capital Assets: \$4,262,586 (as of December 1943). Figures for 1944 are not yet available.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1943, \$113,045. Of this sum, grants constituted \$95,309.

Irwin Fund, Trustees of the. See Travelli — Charles Irwin Travelli Fund.

Irwin — William G. Irwin Charity Foundation (1919); 1020 Matson Building, San Francisco 5, Calif.; Helene Irwin Fagan, President; John D. McKee, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Fannie M. Irwin, who directed in her Will that the net income of the Foundation should be applied to charitable uses in California or the Hawaiian Islands, including medical researches and other scientific uses designed to promote or improve the physical condition of mankind. Health and social welfare are current interests of the Foundation.

Capital Assets: \$1,433,300.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$98,000.

Ittleson Family Foundation (1940); c/o Henry Ittleson, 1 Park Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Henry Ittleson for the promotion of the well-being of mankind throughout the world, including as means to that end, research, publication, the establishment and maintenance of charitable, religious, and educational activities, agencies, and institutions, and the aid of any such activities, agencies, and institutions already established.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

James Foundation of New York, Inc. (1941); 39 East 69th Street, New York 21, N.Y.; William W. Carman, President.

Purpose and Activities: Established under the Will of Arthur Curtiss James for charitable, religious, and educational purposes. Present activities are in the fields of education, health, religion, and social welfare.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Jamison. See Arbuckle-Jamison Foundation.

Janssen — Henry Janssen Foundation (1931); P.O. Box 462, Reading, Pa.; Henry Janssen, President.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Jarvie — James N. Jarvie Commonweal Service of the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in U.S.A. (1934); 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.; W. P. McCulloch, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Mr. Jarvie's primary purpose in establishing the Jarvie Commonweal Fund (1926), which has now become the James N. Jarvie Commonweal Service of the Board of National Missions, was "to offer financial aid and friendly service to genteel elderly folk — 65 and beyond — within the Protestant faith and residing within the Greater New York area; persons of culture and education whose former comfortable circumstances had been reversed and who in their declining years found themselves without sufficient means of support."

Capital Assets: \$13,280,780.

Expenditures: Year ending March 31, 1944, \$368,945. Of this sum, \$326,443 represented grants.

Java. See Sumatra-Java Foundation.

Jeanes — Anna T. Jeanes Foundation. See Southern Education Foundation.

Jonas — Louis August Jonas Foundation, Inc. (1930); P.O. Drawer 33, Walden, Orange County, N.Y.; George E. Jonas, President; John J. Carey, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by George E. Jonas "to assist financially deserving boys of fine character and superior intelligence to fruition of their potentiality." The Foundation maintains a summer camp for boys between the ages of 13 and 16. Contact with them is year-round and for life. Guest campers from foreign countries have been invited annually since 1934 as a gesture of international goodwill. This will be expanded in postwar years.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Jordan — Arthur Jordan Foundation (1928); 1204 North Delaware Street, Indianapolis 2, Ind.; Hilton U. Brown, Chairman; Fermor S. Cannon, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Arthur Jordan for charitable, educational, religious, literary, and scientific purposes and social advancement, including music and the arts, in order to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world, and particularly in the United States. Its chief interest is in the field of music education.

Capital Assets: \$2,000,000.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$68,815. Of this sum, grants constituted \$59,952.

Juilliard Musical Foundation (1920); 31 Nassau Street, New York 5, N.Y.; George W. Davison, President; M. Steilen, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Augustus D. Juilliard to aid worthy students of music in securing a complete and adequate music education either in this country or abroad; and to arrange for and to give, without profit to the Foundation, musical entertainments, concerts, and recitals of a character appropriate for the education of the general public in the musical arts. The chief concern of the Foundation at present is the maintenance of the Juilliard School of Music, 130 Claremont Avenue, New York 27, N.Y.

Capital Assets: \$12,000,000.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Kalamazoo Foundation (1926); 316 Commerce Building, 111 North Rose Street, Kalamazoo 12, Mich.; Donald S. Gilmore, President; Earl S. Weber, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, established under the inspiration of Dr. W. E. Upjohn, former mayor, with activation coming from the Kalamazoo Chamber of Commerce, "for assisting charitable and educational institutions; for scientific research; for care of the sick, aged or helpless; for the care of children; for the benefit of living and working conditions; for the recreation of all classes, and for such other public, educational, charitable or benevolent purposes as will best make

for the mental, moral, and physical improvement of the inhabitants of the County of Kalamazoo as now or hereafter constituted."

Capital Assets: \$459,959, with a larger probated total still to come into the portfolio.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$9,100, all in grants.

Karagheusian — Howard Karagheusian Commemorative Corporation; c/o Walter J. Corno, 295 Fifth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Kaufmann — Henry Kaufmann Foundation; 1 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Kellogg — W. K. Kellogg Foundation (1930); 258 Champion Street, Battle Creek, Mich.; Emory W. Morris, President; Mrs. Bessie Rogers Young, Secretary-Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Mr. W. K. Kellogg to promote the health, happiness, and well-being of mankind, especially children. No geographical limitations are imposed. The Foundation is principally concerned with health and educational problems in rural areas. Other interests are in the fields of social welfare and recreation. It operates through grants and by programs which are direct responsibilities of various staff members. During the war period the Foundation discontinued all of its programs that did not relate directly to the war effort or to civilian health. It is carrying on studies at the present time in respect to programs to be initiated during the early peace years.

Capital Assets: \$46,825,011.

Expenditures: Year ending August 31, 1944, \$1,706,721. Of this sum, grants constituted \$1,138,324.

Kenosha Foundation (1926); 5522 Sixth Avenue, Kenosha, Wis.; C. P. Heide, President; H. N. Swenson, Assistant Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation was established by an association of members. Its

purpose is the "promotion and aiding of education in schools, colleges and universities, the furnishing of charitable and educational aid to the needy and worthy and the carrying out of other charitable purposes particularly for the mental, moral and physical improvement of inhabitants of the state of Wisconsin." The Foundation is currently active in the family welfare field.

Capital Assets: \$38,726.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$12,580. Of this sum, grants constituted \$12,086.

Kent — Atwater Kent Foundation, Inc. (1919); 1105-A Market Street, Wilmington 99, Del.; A. Atwater Kent, President; G. C. Weaver, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by A. Atwater Kent for religious, charitable, scientific, and educational purposes.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Klau — David W. Klau Foundation (1942); 462 Broadway, New York 13, N.Y.; David W. Klau, President; Ira Skutch, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by David W. Klau for religious, charitable, or scientific purposes. Current activities include the fields of health, particularly the handicapped, education, social welfare, religion, and race relations.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Knapp Foundation (New York) (1923); 580 Fifth Avenue, New York 19, N.Y.; C. E. Stouch, Treasurer; W. Daniel, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Joseph P. Knapp to render aid to and promote the social, physical, or economic welfare of such persons, and their families, as have been or may in the future be employed in any printing, publishing, or lithographing corporation with which he has been or may hereafter be connected. Any unused income not required for

these purposes may be used in an endeavor to be helpful to others in whatever ways seem wise to the trustees. Current activities include family welfare and relief.

Capital Assets: \$383,141.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$12,507.

Knapp Foundation, Inc. (North Carolina) (1929); 580 Fifth Avenue, New York 19, N.Y.; Mrs. Margaret R. Knapp, President; W. Daniel, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Joseph P. Knapp for educational and charitable purposes. The Foundation's chief interests are in the fields of health, education, and social welfare. It operates chiefly in North Carolina.

Capital Assets: \$302,604.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$23,189.

Knapp Fund; 30 East 42d Street, New York 17, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Knights Templar Educational Foundation (1922); 428 Chamber of Commerce Building, Indianapolis 4, Ind.; Fred A. Aldrich, Chairman; Adrian Hamersly, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation operates under the supervision of the trustees of the Grand Encampment of Knights Templar of the U.S.A. Its purpose is to provide educational advantages for the youth of the United States. State committees administer funds from which loans are made to boys and girls to enable them to complete their education. These loans are payable after graduation at a nominal rate of interest to cover costs of administration. To date more than 36,000 students have been beneficiaries. Most emphasis is placed on assisting Juniors and Seniors in accredited colleges to complete their four-year college course, but state administrators have great autonomy for granting loans within a broad scope of regulations.

Capital Assets: \$4,954,348.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$105,909, of which student loans totaled \$24,458.

Kosciuszko Foundation (1925); 149 East 67th Street, New York 21, N.Y.; Stephen P. Mizwa, Secretary and Executive Director.

Purpose and Activities: To grant voluntary financial aid to deserving Polish students desiring to study at higher institutions of learning in the United States, and to deserving American students desiring to study in Poland; to encourage and aid the exchange of professors, scholars, and lecturers between Poland and the United States; and to cultivate closer intellectual and cultural relations between these two countries. Aid has been given to Polish refugee scholars in the sum of \$46,442. No grants are made to outside agencies.

Capital Assets: \$152,545.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Kresge Foundation (1924); 2727 Second Boulevard, Detroit 32, Mich.; Paul W. Voorhies, President; Amos F. Gregory, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Sebastian S. Kresge for the benefit of religious, charitable, benevolent, or educational institutions or other public benefactions. The Foundation is currently active in the fields of education, child welfare, and religion.

Capital Assets: \$47,516,062.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$333,048, all as grants.

Kress — Samuel H. Kress Foundation (1929); 15 Broad Street, New York 5, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined. See 1938 edition, American Foundations for Social Welfare.

La Prensa Charity Fund; c/o La Prensa New York Daily Spanish Newspaper, 245 Canal Street, New York 13, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Lake Placid Club Education Foundation (1922); Lake Placid Club, Essex County, N.Y.; Dr. Ira A. Flinner, Education Director; Harry Wade Hicks, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation has been granted a charter as an educational institution for the purpose of aiding and restoring to health and educational efficiency teachers, librarians, and other educators of moderate means who have become incapacitated by overwork; establishing, maintaining, and aiding schools, libraries, or other educational institutions, especially in Lake Placid; and instituting, organizing, or fostering other movements to advance public welfare through education by means of the Foundation press, conference, forums, addresses, guided reading, and similar agencies, to be located at Lake Placid Club. The Foundation is responsible for the operation of Northwood School and Work Simplification Conference, and for the publication of the Dewey Decimal Classification System. In addition it makes vacations possible at Lake Placid Club for men and women in education in the low salary group, and gives assistance to musical activities at the Club and elsewhere.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Approximately \$200,000 annually.

Lamport — Sadie and Arthur Lamport Foundation; c/o Mrs. Charles Friedman, 180 Inwood Road, Bridgeport 4, Conn.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation has been set up for philanthropic and educational purposes and for the furtherance of research.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Lamport — Samuel C. and Miriam D. Lamport Foundation (1942); 30 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N.Y.; Dr. Benjamin B. Greenberg, President.

Purpose and Activities: The income of this fund is designated for eleven specified "charitable, benevolent, and educational institutions of public benefaction."

Capital Assets: \$112,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, none.

Lancaster Community Trust (1924); 45 East Orange Street, Lancaster, Pa.; M. M. Harnish, Chairman of Distribution Committee; L. W. Newcomer, Director.

Purpose and Activities: This community trust was set up by a group of interested citizens "to accept any gift, grant, devise or bequest in trust for public charitable, benevolent and educational purposes . . . as will most effectively assist, encourage and promote the well-being of mankind and primarily the inhabitants of the City and County of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, regardless of race, color or creed." Recent distributions have been in the fields of health and mental hygiene, social welfare including child welfare and relief, and education, emphasizing scholarships.

Capital Assets: \$133,455.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$5,064, all in grants.

Langley — Edward Langley Scholarship Fund (1936); c/o Edward C. Kemper, Executive Secretary of the American Institute of Architects, 1741 New York Avenue, NW., Washington 6, D.C.

Purpose and Activities: As a result of a bequest by Edward Langley, scholarships are awarded annually by the Fund for advanced work in architecture through study, travel, or research, as the candidate elects. They are open to all residents of the United States and Canada who are engaged in the profession of architecture; that is, architects, architectural draftsmen (including specification writers, supervisors, and executives), and teachers and students in architecture. Only a very limited number of awards can be made each year.

Capital Assets: \$127,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$4,000 for scholarship awards.

Larsen — Roy E. Larsen Fund, Inc.; 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.; Erma G. Perron, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Lasker — Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation, Inc. (1942); Chrysler

Building, New York 17, N.Y.; Albert D. Lasker, President; Mary Woodard Lasker, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Albert D. and Mary Woodard Lasker for charitable, scientific, or educational purposes. Current activities are in the fields of health and medical research.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Latham Foundation for the Promotion of Humane Education (1918); Latham Square Building, Oakland 12, Calif.; Edith Latham, President; Mrs. Dolores Wilkens Kent, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Set up by Milton and Edith Latham for promotion of the doctrine of universal brotherhood, eradication of cruelty to animals, and education of children in justice and kindness to animals. The purposes are carried out through lectures, exhibits, and public meetings, and printing and dissemination of literature. Field work in 1944 reached personally more than 45,000 public school children with character-building programs, and 40 exhibit units traveled from coast to coast. Twenty-five art scholarships were donated by leading art schools in 1945 to winning contestants in the Latham Foundation 20th annual poster contest. The Foundation's current major emphasis is on animal welfare.

Capital Assets: \$294,766.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$12,934.

Lavanburg — Fred L. Lavanburg Foundation (1927); 132 Baruch Place, New York 2, N.Y.; Abraham Goldfeld, Executive Director; Albert F. Hockstader, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Fred L. Lavanburg "to further the movement to provide sanitary housing accommodations at low rentals for persons of small incomes, primarily those living in New York City and vicinity who are unable to obtain within their means proper sanitary housing. The corporation, as a means to such end, may engage in research

or publication; it may establish, maintain, assist or support activities, agencies and institutions; it may cooperate with any of such agencies or institutions and it may employ any other means or agencies which from time to time shall to the corporation seem expedient."

Capital Assets: \$1,215,800, including valuation of two model housing units.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$29,424. Of this sum, grants constituted \$4,000.

LeTourneau Foundation (1935); P.O. Box 240, Peoria 1, Ill.; R. G. LeTourneau, President; Evelyn LeTourneau, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by R. G. LeTourneau to teach, promulgate, and disseminate the gospel of Jesus Christ throughout the world, and also to unite in Christian fellowship the large number of consecrated Christians in the various evangelical churches. The Foundation appoints ministers, evangelists, missionaries, and others to accomplish these purposes.

Capital Assets: \$11,393,272.

Expenditures: Year ending May 31, 1944, \$389,446. Of this sum, contributions totaled \$73,776.

Leventritt — Edgar M. Leventritt Foundation, Inc. (1939); 30 Broad Street, New York 4, N.Y.; Rosalie J. Leventritt, President; Ann E. Koren, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation's funds are to be used exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, and educational purposes. Present emphases include the fields of mental hygiene and social welfare. The Foundation also sponsors an annual competition for pianists and violinists, the award being an appearance with the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Levy — Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc.; 570 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.; Ann Whitman, Assistant Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Levy — Shaya Chabot Levy Foundation (1943); c/o S. M. Levy and Sons, 392 Fifth Avenue, New York 18, N.Y.; Morris S. Levy, President.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Morris S. Levy and A. Bert Levy for the purpose of assisting religious, educational, and social service institutions. The Foundation is active in all three fields.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Lifwynn Foundation for Laboratory Research in Analytic and Social Psychiatry (1927); Westport, Conn.; Dr. Trigant Burrow, Scientific Director; Dr. Hans Syz, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation is a membership corporation devoted to research in phylopathology of human behavior. Its purpose is to pursue the study and treatment of behavior disorders upon the same definite laboratory basis that characterizes other departments of medical research and, so far as possible, to promote the social background requisite to the development and further extension of these studies within the community. The researches do not focus only upon the individual who shows disturbed behavior, such as neurotic conditions, mental disorder, or delinquent trends. They are directed especially toward the biological imbalances underlying the less obvious disturbances occurring in the adaptation of so-called normal communities. The scope of these investigations includes the causation of those widespread disorders of community life witnessed in social dissension, economic and international conflict, crime, and war. The income of the Foundation is applied solely to the researches of the Lifwynn Laboratory.

Capital Assets: \$145,608.

Expenditures: Year ending September 30, 1944, \$18,621.

Lindemann Foundation, Inc.; 1041 Prospect Avenue, New York 59, N.Y.; Jo-

seph S. Lindemann, President; Louis Naidich, Treasurer and Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Littauer — Lucius N. Littauer Foundation, Inc. (1929); 235 Fourth Avenue, New York 3, N.Y.; Harry Starr, President and Treasurer; Georges H. Brandt, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Lucius N. Littauer to enlarge the realms of human knowledge, and to promote the general moral, mental, and physical improvement of society so that the sum total of human welfare and wisdom may be increased and the cause of better understanding among all mankind promoted. The funds may be devoted to charitable, humanitarian, educational, communal, and other altruistic activities. Current interests include the fields of education, social welfare, international relations, race relations, and the social sciences.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Loeb — Frances and John L. Loeb Foundation; 61 Broadway, New York 4, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Long — Kathryn Long Trust (1944); 147 West 39th Street, New York 18, N.Y.; Eric T. Clarke, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Kathryn Turney Long who stated in her Will "It is my aim and desire to foster and encourage the continuance, growth and improvement of the performance in the United States of grand opera and kindred dramatic works in which music forms an essential part. Knowing that there are at all times worthy young men and women of talent in the vocal and dramatic arts whose ambitions are frustrated or hampered by lack of means to pursue their education and training it is my particular wish to contribute to the arts aforesaid by aiding such persons in the cultivation of their abilities."

Capital Assets: \$419,169.

Expenditures: Year ending May 31, 1945, \$19,400 in grants authorized.

Loose — Carrie J. Loose Fund (1927); c/o Trust Department, First National Bank of Kansas City, 14 West 10th Street, Kansas City 10, Mo.; E. F. Swinney and Arthur Mag, Trustees.

Purpose and Activities: The Fund was established by Harry Wilson Loose for the "furtherance and development of such charitable, benevolent, hospital, infirmity, public, educational, scientific, literary, library or research purposes in Kansas City, Missouri, as said Trustees shall in their absolute discretion determine to be in the public interest." Present interests include the fields of education and child welfare. Aid has also been given to a home for the aged.

Capital Assets: \$3,614,585.

Expenditures: Year ending October 14, 1944, \$48,020 in grants. Total expenditures not stated.

Loose — Jacob L. Loose Million Dollar Charity Fund (1923); c/o E. F. Swinney, First National Bank of Kansas City, Kansas City 10, Mo.

Purpose and Activities: Organized by the late Jacob L. Loose for charitable purposes. Each year \$5,000 from the income is contributed to charity. The balance of the income goes to Mr. Loose's widow as long as she lives; then the entire amount goes to charity.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: \$5,000 a year.

Lorberbaum Foundation; 81 Franklin Street, New York 13, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Louisville Foundation; Kentucky Home Life Building, Louisville, Ky.; Irvin Marcus, Secretary, Disbursing Committee.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Love — Edward K. Love Conservation Foundation (1938); Columbia, Mo.; E. Sydney Stephens, President, Board of Governors; A. S. Love, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Edward K. Love "to aid in the protecting and conserving of wild life in the State of Missouri." Grants have been made to public organizations devoted to the conservation of wildlife, particularly in connection with publications designed to inform the public concerning Missouri's wildlife interests. Scholarships have been granted to members of 4-H clubs and Future Farmers, and graduate fellowships at the University of Missouri have been established. Owing to war conditions, some of the fellowships have been vacated and there has not been complete competition for the scholarships.

Capital Assets: Above \$100,000, partly real estate.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$1,972.

Lowenstein — Leon Lowenstein Foundation; 37 Leonard Street, New York 13, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Luce — Henry Luce Foundation, Inc. (1936); 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.; Dorothy Burns, Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Macfadden — Bernarr Macfadden Foundation, Inc. (1931); 535 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.; Bernarr Macfadden, President; Laura E. Zimmer, Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Bernarr Macfadden to propagate the principles of health building by natural means. To this end the Foundation is authorized to publish literature devoted to physical culture, to conduct educational activities, to establish scholarships for advocates of such health-building methods, to maintain sanitariums for treatment of persons by physical culture methods, to maintain gymnasiums and camps and other outdoor

recreational facilities promoting the physical well-being of young men and women, and to promote the knowledge of hygiene and health. There shall be no discrimination as to age, race, nationality, sex, creed, or color of the beneficiaries.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Macy — Josiah Macy, Jr., Foundation (1930); 565 Park Avenue, New York 21, N.Y.; Dr. Willard C. Rappleye, President; Dr. Frank Fremont-Smith, Medical Director and Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Mrs. Kate Macy Ladd for the promotion of scientific investigations of the fundamental aspects of health, sickness, and methods for the relief of suffering. The Foundation conducts medical research and is currently active in the mental hygiene field. As a contribution to the war effort the Foundation, in collaboration with the National Committee for Mental Hygiene and the National Research Council, has reproduced and distributed to the medical officers of our armed forces and of our Allies selected current medical articles. During 1944, \$89,000 was spent for this purpose. The Foundation has also been conducting a series of conferences on topics within its program, for which \$13,359 was expended in 1944.

Capital Assets: \$6,866,626.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$436,035. Of this sum, grants totaled \$270,495.

Madison Community Trust Fund (1942); c/o Trust Department, First National Bank, Madison 1, Wis.; J. C. Ford, Chairman of Distribution Committee; R. H. Marshall, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, established by the Madison War Chest and interested individuals and corporations for charitable purposes during the war and postwar emergency rehabilitation period, and during those future years in which money for charitable purposes cannot be raised in sufficient volume to meet the charitable needs of the Madison metropolitan area. The Fund provides

particularly, though not necessarily exclusively, for charitable and relief agencies in the Madison area which are participating agencies of the War Chest or constituent members of the Community Union.

Capital Assets: Approximately \$360,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$35,500 in grants.

Maguire — Russell Maguire Foundation; 1 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Mann-Rosenfeld Foundation (1943); 1650 South 51st Street, Philadelphia 43, Pa.; A. L. Rosenfeld, President; David Bortin, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A. L. Rosenfeld and Frederic R. Mann established this Foundation "to give financial assistance to relieve the needy and distressed, and furnish them with religious and educational opportunities and medical care." Awards have been made to various organizations having programs designed to help the war effort.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Manville — Hiram Edward Manville Foundation (1943); P.O. Box 665, Pleasantville, N.Y.; Wilfred L. Richardson, Trustee.

Purpose and Activities: Established by the Will of Hiram Edward Manville, who provided that one third of the income and, in the discretion of the trustees, also of the principal may be used to aid corporations organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, or educational purposes, including the encouragement of art and the prevention of cruelty to animals or children. Mr. Manville died in 1944 and the estate has not yet been settled; the Foundation is therefore not yet operative.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Marcus Foundation, Inc. (1943); 41 Worth Street, New York 13, N.Y.; Morris I. Marcus, President; David R. Marcus, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A family foundation, established by the Marcus brothers, for the relief of the poor and indigent of all creeds and colors; voluntarily to give support, or pay tuition fees, or contribute thereto, to worthy, promising students; voluntarily to assist financially, ill and needy persons in obtaining proper and necessary medical, surgical, and hospital care; to aid and assist, by gifts, donations, contributions, or otherwise, corporations, trusts, community chests, funds, or foundations, organized under the laws of any state or territory of the United States, the District of Columbia, or the federal government, exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Markle — John and Mary R. Markle Foundation (1927); 14 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.; Thomas W. Lamont, President; Florence E. Quick, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by John Markle "to promote the general good of mankind . . . to aid technical schools, institutions of higher learning . . . scientific and medical research . . . and to aid and cooperate with any activities, agencies and institutions established for similar purposes." Since 1935 the Foundation has limited its new activities to grants to institutions in aid of specific research projects in the medical sciences. Exceptions to this policy, resulting from the war, have been six appropriations in support of teaching tropical medicine in medical schools.

Capital Assets: \$15,755,396.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$505,974. Of this sum, grants have totaled \$434,971.

Marshall — Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust (1939); 150 Broadway, New York 7, N.Y.; Simon Gross, Manager.

Purpose and Activities: The Trust was created under the Will of Robert Marshall for the purpose of safeguarding and advancing the cause

of civil liberties in the United States. The trustees are authorized to bring to the knowledge of the citizens the importance and necessity of preserving and safeguarding civil liberties, and to draft legislation and use all lawful means to insure its enactment into the law of the various states and their subdivisions and by Congress to the end that the civil liberties guaranteed by the federal and state constitutions may be forever maintained, preserved, and developed.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Marshall — Robert Marshall Foundation (1939); 38 East 57th Street, New York 22, N.Y.; George Marshall, Manager.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Marshall — Robert Marshall Wilderness Fund (1939); c/o George Marshall, 38 East 57th Street, New York 22, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Mason Fund Committee (1929); Room 808, 201 Devonshire Street, Boston 10, Mass.; Dr. Richard M. Smith, Chairman; Mary A. Clapp, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: This Fund derives from the Trust and Will of Ellen and Ida Mason, and is "for the aid, support and relief of the sick and the poor, education, religion, science, and other charities, or any other purposes which by law are charitable." Income only has been distributed, but principal also may be drawn upon. It shall be terminated not later than 21 years after the death of the last survivor of specified individuals. Recent contributions have been in the fields of health, international relations, race relations, and social welfare.

Capital Assets: \$399,669.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$13,846. Of this sum, \$13,640 represented grants.

Massachusetts Society for the University Education of Women (1876); c/o New England Trust Company, 99 Newbury Street, Boston 2, Mass.; Mrs. W. Stanton Yeager, President; Mrs. Alvin H. Hansen, Recording Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Society was founded by a group of women desirous of aiding young women to secure a college education. Many loans and scholarships and several fellowships have been given, the beneficiaries being students in Boston University, Jackson, Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, Simmons, Smith, Wellesley, and Wheaton Colleges, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Capital Assets: \$57,798.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$1,965, of which grants totaled \$1,850.

Massachusetts State Grange. See Educational Aid Fund, Massachusetts State Grange.

Maternal Health Fund. See Clara Elizabeth Maternal Health Fund.

Matz — Israel Matz Foundation (1925); 423 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn 17, N.Y.; Prof. M. M. Kaplan, Chairman; Leo A. Matz, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Israel Matz to provide financial aid to indigent Hebrew writers and scholars; also to publish Hebrew classics, eleven volumes of which have already appeared.

Capital Assets: \$150,000.

Expenditures: Year ending January 31, 1945, \$15,000. Of this amount, grants totaled \$14,300.

Mayo Properties Association (1919); Rochester, Minn.; Harry J. Harwick, Chairman; Albert J. Lobb, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Association, a non-stock, benevolent, and charitable corporation, was established by Dr. William J. Mayo and Dr. Charles H. Mayo "to aid and advance the study and investigation of human ailments and injuries, and the causes, prevention, relief and cure thereof, and the study and investigation of problems of hygiene, health and public welfare, and the promotion of medical, surgical and scientific learning, skill, education and investigation, and to engage in and conduct

and to aid and assist in medical, surgical and scientific research in the broadest sense." The Association has contributed funds to aid in the establishment of a School of Public Health and Preventive Medicine at the University of Minnesota.

Capital Assets: \$28,299,596.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$850,721. Of this total, a grant of \$355,676 was made to the University of Minnesota for graduate fellowships in the Mayo Foundation (an integral part of the University) for medical education and research.

McComas — Sophia Byers McComas Foundation (1943); Trust Department, United States National Bank of Portland, Box 4410, Portland 8, Ore.; A. M. Wright, Chairman of Foundation Committee; W. D. Hinson, Secretary of Foundation Committee.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Sophia Byers McComas "for the care and maintenance of indigent aged people who are residents or former residents of the State of Oregon, in suitable homes and institutions situated in the State of Oregon. . . ." The Foundation is currently providing for 21 old people and, in some cases, for their families also.

Capital Assets: \$500,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$13,740.

McConnell — Robert Earll McConnell Foundation; 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.; Robert E. McConnell, Trustee.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

McGregor Fund (1925); 2486 National Bank Building, Detroit 26, Mich.; Henry S. Hulbert, President; Renville Wheat, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Tracy W. McGregor for charitable, religious, and educational purposes. The Fund is currently continuing support of projects commenced solely or in part by the Fund or by Mr. McGregor and has contributed to war relief. Interests in-

clude family welfare, relief, preventive medicine, and the awarding of scholarships.

Capital Assets: \$9,098,478.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$341,534. Of this sum, grants totaled \$233,085.

Mellon — A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust (1930); 716 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D.C.; Donald D. Shepard, Co-Trustee.

Purpose and Activities: A charitable trust, created by the late Andrew W. Mellon. Activities have been confined to the distribution of funds to those institutions and organizations in which the donor had been interested during his lifetime. These have included the erection of the National Gallery of Art in Washington at a cost of \$15,000,000 and a \$5,000,000 endowment fund; a substantial endowment fund to the Mellon Institute of Industrial Research of Pittsburgh, and gifts to the many educational and charitable organizations in which the donor had evidenced an interest.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$664,151 in the form of contributions or gifts.

Mendelson — The Aaron Mendelson Trusts; 2284 National Bank Building, Detroit 26, Mich.; Herbert A. Mendelson, Trustee.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Menninger Foundation (1941); 3617 West 6th Avenue, Topeka, Kan.; Dr. Karl A. Menninger, President; Dr. K. T. Toeplitz, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by eight incorporators for the following purposes: "Promoting medical science and especially the development of psychiatry and its related sciences; providing opportunities for scientists to apply themselves to research in the problems of medicine, psychology and sociology; providing for the instruction of physicians, nurses, therapists and educators in a broad and intensive understanding of the human personality; providing diagnosis, care and treatment of patients including those whose funds are inadequate;

studying the conditions under which mental illness is fostered and the manner in which the personality of the child may be warped; studying and developing the application of psychiatry to education, industry, preventive medicine, political science, and sociology." On October 1, 1945, the Foundation expanded to include all the Menninger activities, in order to unify the various programs. These activities include the Menninger Clinic, Menninger Sanitarium, and Southard School for children in need of psychiatric treatment. The Foundation's current emphases are psychiatric research and postgraduate psychiatric education.

Capital Assets: \$116,263, to be increased to \$500,000 when consolidation described above is completed.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$32,660. Of this amount, grants constituted \$29,700.

Mertz — Martha Mertz Foundation (1939); 11 Broad Street, New York 5, N.Y.; Vincent L. Banker, President; Mrs. Sidney Borg, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Dewitt W. Mertz, the Foundation's purpose is to administer to, provide for, and take care of unmarried girls who have become mothers or prostitutes or who, from such causes, shall be homeless or in fear of becoming homeless or social outcasts, and by means of such administering, provision, and care, to attempt to rehabilitate such girls. Grants are made only to local New York agencies.

Capital Assets: \$878,139.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$27,035. Of this sum, grants constituted \$25,100.

Methodist Church. See Board of Education of the Methodist Church, Student Loan Fund.

Milbank — Dunlevy Milbank Foundation, Inc.; 41 East 42d Street, New York 17, N.Y.; Dunlevy Milbank, Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Milbank Memorial Fund (1905); 40 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.; Dr. Frank G. Boudreau, Executive Director; Catherine A. Doran, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: This Fund was established by Elizabeth Milbank Anderson "to improve the physical, mental and moral condition of humanity, and generally to advance charitable and benevolent objects." The Fund's field of interest is public health. It is particularly interested in public health aspects of nutrition and housing, population trends, and the appraisal of certain public health procedures and methods. Research work, particularly in nutrition and population, has been widely expanded since the outbreak of the war.

Capital Assets: \$8,900,420.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$317,647. Of this sum, \$144,047 represented grants.

Mills — Davella Mills Foundation (1935); 630 Valley Road, Upper Montclair, N.J.; Stanley H. Hutchinson, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by David B. Mills for religious, charitable, scientific, or educational purposes.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Milwaukee Foundation (1915); c/o First Wisconsin Trust Company, Milwaukee 1, Wis.; George B. Luhman, Secretary of Foundation Committee.

Purpose and Activities: Of the community trust type, the Foundation contributes to specified local agencies. A recent gift to the Foundation is to be used by the trustees in their discretion to provide scholarships for needy students.

Capital Assets: \$243,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, approximately \$5,000, all in grants.

Minneapolis Foundation (1915); 115 South Fifth Street, Minneapolis 2, Minn.; F. T. Heffelfinger, President; Lee A. Short, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, empowered "to provide and administer in its own behalf or as the representative, agent or trustee for others, temporary or permanent relief and assistance for sick, needy, aged, disabled or distressed persons; to improve living conditions, to provide recreation for any or all classes; to further education and scientific research; to cooperate with and aid other corporations, societies or associations organized and conducted for charitable, scientific, educational and cognate purposes. . . ." Expenditures are chiefly in the fields of education, health, recreation, and social welfare.

Capital Assets: \$961,649.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$23,250.

Morgan — Edward M. Morgan Foundation of the New York Post Office, Inc. (1926); Main Post Office Building, 31st to 33d Streets and Eighth Avenue, New York 1, N.Y.; Albert Goldman, President; John W. Lynch, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: This fund was contributed voluntarily by employees of the New York Post Office to establish and maintain general ward beds by endowment, or otherwise, and to provide general ward bed service in general public nonprofit hospitals in the metropolitan area of the city of New York, and such other relief and philanthropic work as will benefit the employees of the New York Post Office and such other persons as the trustees may from time to time designate.

Capital Assets: \$260,224.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$46,538.

Morris — William T. Morris Foundation, Inc. (1937); 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.; William T. Morris, President; Arthur C. Laske, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation was set up by William T. Morris to carry on religious, charitable, scientific, literary, and educational activities; to further public welfare and the well-being of mankind; and to aid sick, aged, helpless, or needy men, women, or children. A scholarship plan is in operation, which enables boys and girls to continue their education.

Capital Assets: \$388,996.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$82,153, of which grants constituted \$81,119.

Moseley — William Oxnard Moseley Foundation (1916); 135 Devonshire Street, Boston 7, Mass.; New England Trust Company, Trustee.

Purpose and Activities: Established by funds from the estate of Julia M. Moseley. The indenture provides that the income is to be used for specific charities in Newburyport, Massachusetts.

Capital Assets: \$234,000.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Moses — Henry and Lucy Moses Fund, Inc.; c/o Henry L. Moses, 41 Broad Street, New York 4, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Moses — Horace A. Moses Foundation, Inc.; West Springfield, Mass.; F. N. Bridgham, Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Mott — Charles Stewart Mott Foundation (1926); 1400 East Kearsley Street, Flint 3, Mich.; Charles Stewart Mott, President; Roy E. Brownell, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation, established by Charles Stewart Mott, has a broad charter covering the following purposes: educational, religious, charitable, and public welfare. Special emphasis is placed on children's health, education, and recreation.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Mullanphy — Bryan Mullanphy Emigrant and Travelers Relief Fund (1851); Union Station, St. Louis 3, Mo.; Roscoe C. Hobbs, President; Ralph W. Chapman, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Bryan Mullanphy "to furnish relief to all poor emigrants and travelers coming to St. Louis on their way, bona fide, to settle in the West."

The Fund is now commonly known as the Mullanphy Travelers Aid Society and gives the same general services as all such societies. It currently maintains a USO Terminal Lounge for members of the armed forces, and the Union Station Nursery for traveling mothers and babies.

Capital Assets: \$518,549.

Expenditures: Year ending August 31, 1944, \$19,395, of which grants amounted to \$2,963.

Mundelein — Cardinal Mundelein Foundation; c/o Andrew B. McGivney, Law Office of Boyle, O'Neill and McGivney, 100 North La Salle Street, Chicago 2, Ill.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute (1919); 312 Genesee Street, Utica 4, N.Y.; Rt. Rev. Edward H. Coley, President; Thomas Brown Rudd, Executive Vice-President.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas R. Proctor and Frederick T. Proctor "to establish and maintain a gallery and collection of art and scientific, historical and other collections of general interest; to give instruction and aid, and encourage studies, and the giving of instruction in cognate subjects, and the making and preservation of collections of the indicated character, and to have an auxiliary library." The principal present activity is the promotion of art in Utica and vicinity, including the maintenance and operation of the School of Art and two separate programs known as the Cultural Program and the Community Arts Program.

Capital Assets: \$4,899,001.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$130,056. Of this total, \$16,190 represented grants.

Murphy — Walter P. Murphy Foundation, Inc.; 310 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago 4, Ill.; C. N. Wesley, Executive Vice-President.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation (1916); Broadway at 155th Street, New York 32, N.Y.; George G. Heye, President; Hugo Kohlmann, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The general terms of the grant provided by George Gustav Heye are "to promote the public welfare by actively advancing learning and providing means for encouraging and carrying on the before-mentioned work within the State of New York, also by issuing publications from time to time, and also by doing such things as may be necessary to fully carry out the object of this grant." The particular object is a museum "for the collection, preservation, study and exhibition of all things connected with the aboriginal people of North, South and Central Americas, and containing objects of artistic, historic, literary and scientific interest. Its objects are advancement of the study of anthropology particularly in connection with that of the aboriginal people of the Americas and the study of their languages, literature, history, art and life."

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Musicians' Foundation, Inc. (1914); 160 West 73d Street, New York 23, N.Y.; Willem Willeke, President; Carl Deis, Secretary-Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information. See 1938 edition, American Foundations for Social Welfare.

Nash Foundation; c/o R. L. Nash, 1814 Foshay Tower, Minneapolis 2, Minn.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

National Farm Youth Foundation (1940); 15020 Woodward Avenue, Detroit 3, Mich.; O. L. Wigton, Director.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation was sponsored by Harry Ferguson, Inc., with the active co-operation of Mr. Henry Ford and Mr. Henry Ford, II, and is financed by Harry Ferguson, Inc., along with their distributors and dealers who act as local sponsors. Approximately 20,000 young farm men and

women between the ages of eighteen and thirty have taken the Foundation's course in farm engineering and management, which was prepared by some of the outstanding agricultural engineers throughout the United States. The Foundation is not now in active operation, but it is expected that activities will be continued at such time as conditions permit.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship (1940); 46th Street and Sunset Avenue, Indianapolis 7, Ind.; Samuel R. Harrell, Chairman; Dr. Franklin L. Burdette, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: To present the need for more effective instruction in American principles to educators and the public at large; to publish authoritative materials on basic American concepts and fundamental American principles for use by grade schools, high schools, colleges, community forums, and adult education groups; to encourage schools and colleges to make comprehensive instruction in the American form of government available to all students, and to assist in the development of postwar curricula for education in citizenship; to act as a clearing house for the more effective expenditure of funds of foundations, individuals, associations, and civic, patriotic, and business organizations interested in better citizenship and more capable administration of government; to encourage the active participation of citizens in public affairs, locally and nationally; and to publish books, pamphlets, and materials to aid in the understanding of domestic and foreign policies of the United States.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, Inc. (1938); 120 Broadway, New York 5, N.Y.; Basil O'Connor, President; William C. Bowen, Assistant to the President.

Purpose and Activities: "To lead, direct and unify the fight against infantile paralysis." Ac-

tivities include research, education, epidemic aid, and medical care. Grants are made to institutions for research in the transmission, prevention, and cure of infantile paralysis, as well as in improved treatment methods. The educational program provides information to professional and lay groups, and scholarships for training of doctors, nurses, and physical therapists in modern treatment methods, health education, medical social work, and orthopedic public health nursing. Scholarships and fellowships are offered for training in virology, public health, and orthopedic surgery. In cooperation with representatives of health, welfare, and social agencies, epidemic preparedness programs are conducted to help communities meet outbreaks. Epidemic aid such as money, equipment, personnel, and professional consultation is available to communities. The Foundation, through its chapters serving 3050 counties of the country, provides funds to pay for the treatment of needy infantile paralysis patients regardless of age, race, creed, or color.

Capital Assets: \$13,199,971.

Expenditures: Year ending May 31, 1945, \$4,775,853. Of this sum, grants totaled \$4,105,361.

National Foundation of Musical Therapy, Inc.; 113 West 57th Street, New York 19, N.Y.; E. E. Garrett, Director.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

National Sanitation Foundation (1944); School of Public Health, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Dr. Henry F. Vaughan, President; Walter F. Snyder, Executive Director.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation is an organization, supported by gifts, grants, and bequests, where public health workers, industry, and business combine their efforts to solve common problems. Its purpose is the improvement of environmental health conditions for the people of the United States by means of technical research and education. The Foundation initiates research and educational projects through grants to universities, state and

local departments of health, and other agencies best qualified to assure productive results. It began operation as of January 1, 1945.

Capital Assets: \$75,000.

Expenditures: Too recently organized for data to be pertinent.

Negro Rural School Fund. See Southern Education Foundation.

Nelson — William Rockhill Nelson Trust (1926); William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, 4525 Oak Street, Kansas City 2, Mo.; Paul Gardner, Director; Ethlyne Jackson, Acting Director.

Purpose and Activities: Nelson Trust funds (income from the William Rockhill Nelson Trust) are devoted entirely to the purchase of works of art and to the operation of the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art which houses them. This operation includes a broad program of both adult and child education in art appreciation, partly self-supporting and partly financed by Nelson Trust funds.

Capital Assets: \$11,000,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$331,082. Of this sum, \$250,795 was direct cost of works of art.

Nemours Foundation (1936); 1514 Barnett National Bank Building, Jacksonville 2, Fla.; Jessie Ball duPont, President; Edward Ball, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established in compliance with the Will of Alfred I. duPont, this Foundation is at present confining its activities to operation of the Alfred I. duPont Institute of the Nemours Foundation at Nemours in Wilmington, Delaware, an institute for the care and treatment of crippled children, but not incurables.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

New Haven Foundation (1928); 205 Church Street, New Haven 10, Conn.; Osborne A. Day, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, organized under a Resolution and Declaration of Trust providing that "the Distribution Committee shall in each calendar year appropriate the entire net income for such public, charitable, or educational uses and purposes as will, in the absolute and uncontrolled discretion of the Distribution Committee (subject to the particular terms of any gift), most effectively assist, encourage and promote the well-being of mankind and primarily of the inhabitants of the City of New Haven, Connecticut, as now or hereafter constituted, and its vicinity, regardless of race, color, or creed."

Capital Assets: \$1,077,836.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$34,307 in grants.

New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs. See Yardley Foundation Federation Fellowship Fund.

New-Land Foundation, Inc. (1941); 30 Broad Street, New York 4, N.Y.; Wolfgang S. Schwabacher, President; Nathaniel Whitehorn, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation has been set up by several individuals for charitable, educational, benevolent, humanitarian, public welfare, public health, and eleemosynary purposes. Its chief fields of interest are medical research, education, and race relations.

Capital Assets: Approximately \$350,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, approximately \$20,000, all in grants.

New York Community Trust (1923); 120 Broadway, New York 5, N.Y.; Ralph Hayes, Director.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, set up to provide an administrative medium for multiple charitable funds while preserving the identity of each. As of January 1945, 74 funds were being administered by the Trust.

Capital Assets: \$15,871,557.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$558,746, all in grants.

New York Foundation (1909); 61 Broadway, New York 6, N.Y.; David M. Heyman, President; Jerome H. Schloss, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Alfred M. Heinsheimer and others to receive and maintain a fund or funds and to apply the income thereof to altruistic purposes, charitable, benevolent, educational, or otherwise, within the United States of America, as the trustees may determine. Chief recent interests have been in the fields of education, health, and social welfare.

Capital Assets: \$9,000,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$351,865. Of this sum, grants represented \$339,824.

Nichols Foundation; 60 Wall Tower, New York 5, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Nileb Foundation; 3056 duPont Building, Wilmington 98, Del.; H. B. Robertson, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation's purposes are educational and charitable.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Noble — Edward J. Noble Foundation; c/o Ralph E. Brush, Smith Building, Greenwich, Conn.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Norman — Aaron E. Norman Fund, Inc. (1935); 60 Beaver Street, New York 4, N.Y.; Edward A. Norman, Chairman; William K. Jacobs, Jr., Secretary-Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Formerly called the Assistance Fund, this Fund was established by the late Aaron E. Norman and family to enable the members of the corporation to concentrate their individual charitable donations in a common fund so as to achieve maximum benefits for charitable organizations and needy individuals; and from the sums realized from

the aforesaid sources to disburse the principal and/or income to charitable or social welfare organizations maintained by others, or to needy individuals or families directly; to engage in charitable and benevolent activities and to do such things as are generally done by charitable organizations. Activities have recently been in the fields of education, health, and social welfare, with special wartime grants to the American National Red Cross, National War Fund, refugee relief, and similar services.

Capital Assets: \$1,075,701.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$73,110. Of this total, grants comprised \$73,100.

Northern Baptist Education Society (1791); 517 Tremont Temple, Boston 8, Mass.; Rev. W. Llewellyn Hamer, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: "The object of this Society shall be to aid worthy young men and women having the approval of the churches of which they are members to acquire an adequate preparation for efficient service in the Christian ministry or other recognized religious activities of the Baptist denomination at home or abroad." The Society was founded under the name, Baptist Education Fund.

Capital Assets: \$120,000.

Expenditures: Year ending May 31, 1944, \$5,800. Of this sum, grants constituted \$4,600.

Noyes — LaVerne Noyes Scholarship Fund (1919); Estate of LaVerne Noyes, 2500 Roosevelt Road, Chicago 8, Ill.; Lewis C. Walker, Trustee.

Purpose and Activities: Established by LaVerne Noyes "to express his gratitude to, and in a slight degree to reward, those who ventured the supreme sacrifice of life for this country and for mankind" in World War I "for the liberty of the world, and also to aid in keeping alive, for generations to come, the spirit of unselfish patriotic devotion which these men displayed and without which no free government can long endure." These scholarships are awarded in 49 prominent col-

leges and universities as part or full payment of tuition for students needing assistance who are citizens of the United States and either (1) veterans of World War I, or (2) descended by blood from someone who has served in the army or navy of the United States in said war. Eligible students should make application direct to the listed university or college they wish to attend.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Nutrition Foundation, Inc. (1941); 405 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.; Charles Glen King, Scientific Director; Ole Salthe, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by manufacturers of food and related products, this Foundation's major purpose is to provide a long-range program of fundamental research in nutrition. The Foundation has made grants to 42 institutions in the United States and Canada, the projects including studies of human requirements of specific nutrients, the origins and functions of the individual nutrients in living cells, public health problems in nutrition, and maternal and infant nutrition. Nutrition Reviews is published. In 1944 first consideration was given to nutritional studies related directly to the war. In co-operation with the Office of the Quartermaster General, the Surgeon General, and the Department of Agriculture, the Foundation has made a number of grants in which military aspects were the primary consideration.

Capital Assets: \$1,683,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$261,208. Of this sum, \$202,400 represented grants.

Oberlaender Trust. See Schurz — Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc.

Ohrbach Foundation; 841 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.; Nathan M. Ohrbach, President.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Ophthalmological Foundation (1930); 301 East 14th Street, New York 3, N.Y.; Clarence G. Michalis, President; P. V. G. Mitchell, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by John Markle to advance the science of ophthalmology and the prevention of blindness by making contributions to institutions or agencies for the blind, hospitals, dispensaries, or laboratories; to keep the public informed of the best methods of checking the increase of blindness; and to secure medical and surgical care and treatment of persons afflicted or threatened with blindness, partial blindness, or defective or impaired vision. Current activities include research on color vision, aviation ophthalmology, injuries of the eyeball, plastic surgery, chronic uveal inflammation, and primary and secondary glaucoma.

Capital Assets: \$61,347.

Expenditures: Year ending September 30, 1944, \$12,306.

Pack — Charles Lathrop Pack Forestry Foundation (1930); 1214 16th Street, NW., Washington 6, D.C.; Randolph G. Pack, President; Tom Gill, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Charles Lathrop Pack "to promote educational and scientific work in connection with a constructive policy of forest protection and extension, and to increase public appreciation of forests as natural resources essential to the national welfare." On the advice of its advisory board, composed of leading foresters of the United States, the Foundation supports projects for the study of important forest problems, and publishes the results of such studies, as well as other material designed to broaden public understanding of forestry. It also co-operates with other organizations in larger studies, such as the survey of tropical forests conducted in co-operation with the Tropical Plant Research Foundation. At present it is carrying on jointly with the Society of American Foresters a series of surveys of state forestry administration.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Palestine Foundation Fund; 41 East 42d Street, New York 17, N.Y.; Bernard A. Rosenblatt, President.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Paley — William S. Paley Foundation, Inc. (1936); 485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.; William S. Paley, President; Evelyn Lasarow, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by William S. Paley, the Foundation functions largely through gifts received from Mr. Paley annually. Most of its funds are distributed each year. No definite policy of specialization in any single field has as yet been established by the Foundation.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Payne Fund, Inc. (1927); 1 Madison Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.; Mrs. Chester C. Bolton, President; Mrs. Margaret B. Walker, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: To initiate or assist research and experiment in education. The present emphasis is on media of mass education and communication.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Penney — J. C. Penney Foundation (1923); 330 West 34th Street, New York 1, N.Y.; J. C. Penney, President; E. M. Hilton, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation functioned until the early 1930's, when its operation was discontinued with the exception of the Memorial Home Community, maintained at Penney Farms, Florida, for the benefit of aged, retired ministers and their wives. The ownership of the property has not changed but the Home is now under the sponsorship of the Christian Herald.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Pepperdine — George Pepperdine Foundation (1931); 3757 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 5, Calif.; George Pepperdine, President; Moore Lynn, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by George Pepperdine for charitable, educational, and religious work. The greater part of the Foundation's contributions have been to the George Pepperdine College, a four-year standard co-educational college. Other interests have been in the fields of child welfare and religion.

Capital Assets: \$2,000,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$50,000.

Permanent Charity Fund (Boston). *See* Committee of the Permanent Charity Fund, Inc.

Permanent Community Trust. *See* Reed — Frank H. Reed Permanent Community Trust.

Pforzheimer — Carl and Lily Pforzheimer Foundation, Inc. (1942); Room 1710, 25 Broad Street, New York 4, N.Y.; Carl H. Pforzheimer, President; Alexander B. Siegel, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Carl H. and Lily O. Pforzheimer for charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes, including the encouragement of art.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Phelan — James D. Phelan Foundation (1932); 438 Phelan Building, San Francisco 2, Calif.; Lois Hesson, Director; Claire Y. Kingsford, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: James D. Phelan in his Will set aside a million dollars, the income from which was to be used "To assist, without distinction as to nationality, creed or sex, in relieving the sick poor of the City and County of San Francisco, California, from disease and suffering, by employing and furnishing nurses to care for them primarily in their homes." The Will further directed that the fund be used "in helping the needy sick to personal comfort and quick recovery." The plan

of the Foundation is to give full-time (eight-hour) nursing service in the homes of patients who are under a physician's care, need nursing service, and cannot afford to pay for such service. The Foundation staff is composed of both graduate and nongraduate nurses, working under a field supervisor who is a public health nurse.

Capital Assets: \$1,166,949.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$25,551.

Phelps-Stokes — Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, Inc. (usual designation Phelps-Stokes Fund) (1911); 101 Park Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.; Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, President; Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Educational Director.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Miss Caroline Phelps Stokes, who stipulated in her Will that the net income of the Fund should be used for the improvement of tenement houses in New York City and for the education of Negroes both in Africa and the United States, North American Indians, and needy and deserving white students. The Fund is primarily active in the fields of housing (in New York City only), race relations, and religion (education of rural Negro ministers). Scholarships are occasionally granted, but not as a regular policy. The Fund has assumed the organization and preliminary financing of Encyclopedia of the Negro, Inc., and the publication of its "Preparatory Volume." It has also organized and financed the Committee on Negro Americans in Defense Industries, with a view to stimulating Negro employment; and the Committee on Africa, the War, and Peace Aims, including its report entitled "The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an American Standpoint."

Capital Assets: \$1,090,567.

Expenditures: Year ending October 31, 1944, \$46,612. Of this sum, expenditure for grants totaled \$32,814.

Phi Beta Kappa Foundation (1924); 5 East 44th Street, New York 17, N.Y.; John Kirkland Clark, Chairman.

Purpose and Activities: "An educational institution for the creation of funds or endowments for the erection of memorial buildings, and particularly a memorial building at the College of William and Mary, to the fifty founders of the Phi Beta Kappa Society; for the promotion of sound learning by the establishment of fellowships, scholarships, foundations, funds, endowments, prizes or by any other method which may be found desirable to further such object, and for the encouragement and development of high standards of honor, integrity and character and inspired leadership, including the cherishing of the true spirit of brotherhood throughout our land." A fellowship of \$1,500 is awarded every other year for research in the fields of French or Greek literature.

Capital Assets: \$350,000.

Expenditures: Year ending July 31, 1944, \$32,000. Of this sum, grants totaled \$30,800.

Philadelphia. See Board of Directors of City Trusts, City of Philadelphia.

Philadelphia Foundation (1918); 135 South Broad Street, Philadelphia 9, Pa.; George Wharton Pepper, Chairman of Distribution Committee; Marshall S. Morgan, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: This community trust was set up by the Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Company, which states: "Experience having proven that gifts for charitable purposes can be more economically and advantageously administered if such gifts are combined in a common fund under a unified control, and to the end that people of the City of Philadelphia and of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania may have assurance that their charitable gifts, either testamentary or by deed, can be cared for and administered so as to operate for the best advantage of the Community, notwithstanding the inevitable changes of the conditions of human life, the said Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Company hereby agrees to accept as Trustee gifts to it to be held as part of the Foundation."

Capital Assets: \$747,174.

Expenditures: Year ending September 30, 1944, \$31,971, all in grants.

Phillips — Frank Phillips Foundation, Inc. (1937); Bartlesville, Okla.; Frank Phillips, Chairman; W. C. Smoot, Secretary and Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation's principal funds were derived from the personal fortunes of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Phillips. During the past few years the greater portion of its contributions have been made to character-building organizations and to orphanages. A number of scholarships are maintained in leading schools. Research work now being conducted by Barnes Hospital and Washington University of St. Louis is financed by the Foundation.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Pickett and Hatcher Educational Fund, Inc. (1938); 215 First National Bank Building, Columbus, Ga.; Wilbur H. Glenn, President; J. H. Cutler, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Claude A. Hatcher to aid young people in acquiring or finishing their education.

Capital Assets: \$2,313,724.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$29,724.

Pierce — John B. Pierce Foundation (1924); 40 West 40th Street, New York 18, N.Y.; Clarence M. Woolley, President; Henry L. Weimer, Secretary and Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by John B. Pierce to advance the general hygiene and comfort of human beings and their habitation through the promotion of research and educational, technical, or scientific work in the general field of heating, ventilation, and sanitation.

Capital Assets: In excess of \$5,000,000.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Pilgrim Foundation (1927); Room 13, 1106 Main Street, Brockton 37, Mass.; Edgar B. Davis, President; Mary L. Papineau, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The income from this fund, established by Edgar B. Davis, is to be used for needy families, particularly children, in Brockton, Massachusetts, and contiguous towns. If the entire income should not be needed for this purpose, it can be used partly for educational purposes.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Pillsbury Foundation; c/o Edwin S. Pillsbury, 680 McKnight Road, South St. Louis 5, Mo.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Pines — N. L. Pines Foundation; c/o Ned L. Pines, 10 East 40th Street, New York 16, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Pittsburgh Skin and Cancer Foundation (1923); 4518 Winthrop Street, Pittsburgh 13, Pa.; Arthur E. Braun, President; Dr. Lester Hollander, Medical Director.

Purpose and Activities: Established "for diagnosis and treatment of cancer and skin diseases, making this service available to such people of this community who are financially unable to avail themselves of the proper treatment; and for education of patients, their families, medical and social workers, and the public in general regarding cancer."

Capital Assets: \$66,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$32,600.

Plainfield Foundation (1920); 202 Park Avenue, Plainfield, N.J.; H. D. Davis, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, set up for broad purposes which include assistance to public educational and charitable institutions; promotion of scientific research; care of the needy, sick, aged, and helpless; aid in the reformation of drug addicts, alcoholics, released inmates of penal and reformatory institutions, and wayward or delinquent persons; improvement of living and working

conditions; and provision of facilities for public recreation. During the past year the Foundation has assisted health and social agencies in Plainfield.

Capital Assets: \$76,152.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$3,809, of which grants amounted to \$3,669.

Plotz — Ella Sachs Plotz Foundation for the Advancement of Scientific Investigation (1923); 30 Pine Street, New York 5, N.Y.; Dr. Joseph C. Aub, President; Dr. George B. Wislocki, Chairman of Executive Committee.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Ella Sachs Plotz for the promotion of research directed toward the solution of problems in medicine and surgery, or in branches of science bearing on medicine and surgery. Grants may be used for the purchase of apparatus and supplies that are needed for special investigations, and for the payment of unusual expenses incident to such investigations, including technical assistance, but not for providing apparatus or materials which are ordinarily a part of laboratory equipment. Since its inception the Foundation has distributed over 500 grants to scientists throughout the world. A portion of the income has been reserved for unusual postwar needs.

Capital Assets: \$173,948.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$6,610. Of this sum, grants represented \$6,141.

Pomar. See El Pomar Foundation.

Powers — Leland Powers Foundation, Inc.; c/o Haven M. Powers, 31 Evans Way, Boston 15, Mass.

Purpose and Activities: At the date of this inquiry the Foundation was inactive.

Prentiss — Elisabeth Severance Prentiss Foundation (1939); Euclid at East 6th Street, Cleveland 1, Ohio; E. S. Lindeman, Secretary, Board of Managers.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Elisabeth Severance Prentiss to promote medical and surgical research; to initiate and further ac-

tivities designed to promote public health; to aid nonprofit hospitals and medical institutions in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, by contributions for equipment, operating expenses, or purchase of rare and expensive drugs; to improve methods of hospital administration; and to aid in the establishment and support of plans to make hospital and medical care available to all, especially to those with low incomes. It is expected that most of the Foundation's activities will be carried on in Ohio. Current activities include the fields of health (hospitals) and education (medical colleges and research fellowships).

Capital Assets: Not definitely known; still in the process of collection.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$169,096 in grants.

Presbyterian Church. *See* Christian Education and Ministerial Relief of the Presbyterian Church; and Jarvie — James N. Jarvie Commonweal Service.

Presser Foundation (1916); 1717 Sansom Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.; James Francis Cooke, President; J. Leon McCrery, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Theodore Presser to provide scholarships and loans to promising music students; to increase the value of musical education and to popularize the study of music; and to assist music teachers through emergency aid, maintenance of a home for retired teachers, and help in making provision for their old age.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Price — Lucien B. and Katherine Price Foundation; Dublin Road, Greenwich, Conn.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Propp Foundation, Inc.; 524 Broadway, New York 12, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Pruyn Fund. *See* Glens Falls Foundation.

Race Betterment Foundation (1906); 165 North Washington Avenue, Battle Creek, Mich.; Dr. James T. Case, President; Gertrude Estill, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Dr. John Harvey Kellogg established the Foundation to aid institutions or individuals active in such sanitary, dietetic, dress, hygienic, and temperance reforms as will disseminate the principles of social purity and oppose the use of narcotics of all kinds; to found homes and otherwise care for homeless, destitute, and orphan children, and aged, infirm, and outcast men and women, and infirm and superannuated physicians and nurses who have spent their lives in medical missionary work; and to train and send out missionary physicians and nurses and give pecuniary aid to those being thus trained.

Capital Assets: \$617,998.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$23,705.

Raskob — Bill Raskob Foundation, Inc.; 9011 duPont Building, Wilmington 98, Del.

Purpose and Activities: At the date of this inquiry the Foundation was inactive. *See* 1938 edition, American Foundations for Social Welfare.

Ratschesky — A. C. Ratschesky Foundation (1916); 30 Court Street, Boston 1, Mass.; Alan R. Morse, President; Norman A. Walker, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Abraham C. Ratschesky "to assist in the education, and to give aid and comfort to relieve the suffering of the needy and deserving poor." Contributions have been made in the past to Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish charities. Aid to students was discontinued about 15 years ago, and a camp for girls and another for boys were disposed of in 1943. Gifts made in 1944 were limited to the Red Cross War Fund.

Capital Assets: \$169,616.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$2,078. Of this sum, grants constituted \$2,000.

Rawleigh Foundation; Freeport, Ill.; W. T. Rawleigh, President; J. R. Jackson, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: At the date of this inquiry the Foundation was inactive.

Reed — Frank H. Reed Permanent Community Trust (1919); c/o First National Bank and Trust Company of Tulsa, Tulsa 2, Okla.; N. G. Henthorne, Chairman of Disbursing Committee.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Frank H. and Isabelle S. Reed for charitable work among children. The income is spent to build wading pools for children. The program was suspended until the postwar period because of shortage of labor and materials.

Capital Assets: \$114,291.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, none.

Relief and Research Fund; c/o W. E. Johnston, 180 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Relief Foundation. See Burke — Winifred Masterson Burke Relief Foundation, Inc.

Religious Motion Picture Foundation. See Harmon Foundation.

Reynolds — Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, Inc. (1936); 1206 Reynolds Building, Winston-Salem 3, N.C.; W. N. Reynolds, President; Stratton Coyner, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Richard J. Reynolds, Mary Reynolds Babcock, and Nancy Reynolds Bagley for charitable purposes in the state of North Carolina.

Capital Assets: \$10,072,123.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$226,630. Of this sum, grants comprised \$226,500.

Rhode Island Foundation (1916); 15 Westminster Street, Providence 1, R.I.; Henry D. Sharpe, Chairman, Distribution Committee; John H. Wells, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, set up to improve living conditions and promote the moral, mental, and physical well-being of

the inhabitants of Rhode Island. Within these broad limits, its contributions through established organizations cover a wide range including health, welfare, character-building, and educational services.

Capital Assets: \$908,510.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$26,163. Of this sum, grants represented \$24,291.

Richardson Foundation, Inc. (1935); Piedmont Building, Greensboro, N.C.; H. S. Richardson, President; Lunsford Richardson, Secretary and Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Established by members of the Richardson family for general charitable purposes, and especially to encourage, support, and undertake activities which will provide for the boys and girls of the country a healthy and happy youth and will aid them to obtain the opportunities for self-improvement, education, and training in good citizenship; to foster an interest in and knowledge of the problems of government; to help worthy persons, particularly inhabitants of North Carolina, who have lost their means of support through economic causes beyond their control; to encourage, support, and undertake activities which will better farming conditions and knowledge of farming, will foster better playgrounds for children, a wider knowledge of the habits of wildlife (wild and in North Carolina preserves), and encourage every kind of recreational activity, including a knowledge of sports; to make studies and to encourage, support, and undertake activities which will increase knowledge of the problems of overpopulation, contagious disease, and every type of scientific study and medical research; to disseminate the results of such research. Due to major expenditures in 1937-1939 in construction of the Greensboro, North Carolina, civic center, this Foundation is now in a stage of accumulation.

Capital Assets: \$336,784.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$866.

Richmond Foundation; c/o Virginia Trust Company, Richmond 14, Va.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Riggs — Austen Riggs Foundation, Inc. (1919); Stockbridge, Mass.; Sidney Lovett, President; Henry W. Dwight, Treasurer and Clerk.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Dr. Austen Fox Riggs and friends to establish and maintain a hospital for the treatment of nervous disorders, to operate a clinic or out-patient department, to train physicians and other professional students, and to include research in the field of psychiatry as an integral function. In addition to its interest in mental hygiene, the Foundation is also active in child welfare and family welfare. Fellowships are given for study at the Foundation in Stockbridge and the clinic in Pittsfield.

Capital Assets: \$440,833.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$142,691, of which grants totaled \$43,431.

Robinson — E. O. Robinson Mountain Fund; Frankfort, Ky.; Edward C. O'Rear, Chairman of Board.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Roche — Edward and Ellen Roche Relief Foundation (1930); 70 Broadway, New York 4, N.Y.; George W. Davison and Alfred T. Davison, Trustees.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Edward Roche for the relief of destitute women and children.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$3,675. This entire amount took the form of grants.

Rochester Community Chest, Inc. (1918); 70 North Water Street, Rochester 4, N.Y.; Harry P. Wareham, Manager.

Purpose and Activities: The Rochester Community Chest, in addition to raising funds annually for its participating agencies, operates a trust department in which 43 separate funds are combined at the present time. This department constitutes a community trust. Current emphases include mental hygiene, the handicapped, child welfare, family welfare, relief, and recreation.

Capital Assets: \$646,531.

Expenditures: Year ending March 31, 1944, \$20,649.

Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc. (1940); 50 West 50th Street, New York 20, N.Y.; John D. Rockefeller, 3rd, President; Arthur W. Packard, Director.

Purpose and Activities: The Fund, set up by the five Rockefeller brothers, John D., 3rd, Nelson A., Laurance S., Winthrop, and David, operates entirely on the basis of making grants directly to outside agencies. The present program is confined primarily to the support of certain agencies rendering basic social services in the city of New York and to a limited number of national agencies. Of the expenditures for 1944, substantially more than half was for aid to wartime agencies.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$166,063.

Rockefeller Foundation (1913); 49 West 49th Street, New York 20, N.Y.; Raymond B. Fosdick, President; Norma S. Thompson, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by John D. Rockefeller to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world. The Foundation's program, in terms of broad objective, is the advancement of knowledge. Within this general area there are certain specific fields upon which emphasis is at present being placed. In the medical sciences emphasis is largely on psychiatry; in the natural sciences, on experimental biology; in public health, on the development of general public health activities and on the study and control of certain diseases; in the social sciences, on projects contributing to the understanding of important social problems and to the development of personnel and method; and in the humanities, on efforts which tend to raise the general cultural level and to promote cultural interchange between countries. These defined objectives are not rigidly interpreted. Contributions were made during 1944 for work in the medical, natural, and social sciences, the humanities, and public health. Except to a limited extent

in public health, the Foundation is not an operating organization. Its activities are confined to the support of other agencies and to the training, through postdoctoral fellowships, of competent personnel in the various fields of knowledge.

Capital Assets: \$189,527,823.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$6,687,489. Of this sum, grants totaled \$5,124,814.

Rosenau — Sidney R. Rosenau Foundation (1940); 25th and Westmoreland Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.; Sidney R. Rosenau, Chairman; D. Hays Solis-Cohen, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The funds of the Foundation, which has been set up by Sidney R. Rosenau, are to be devoted to "purposes wholly charitable, educational, philanthropic and civic."

Capital Assets: \$98,850.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$6,651. The entire sum was expended in grants to recognized charitable and educational institutions.

Rosenberg Foundation (1931); 177 Post Street, San Francisco 8, Calif.; Dr. Monroe E. Deutsch, President; Mrs. Leslie W. Gan-yard, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Max L. Rosenberg for the furtherance of education and the arts, the control and elimination of disease, the promotion of the physical and mental well-being of mankind, the advancement of industrial co-operation, the improvement and betterment of living and working conditions, and support of social welfare work. During the past year the Foundation has concentrated on community organization, child care, parent education, and war work such as the support of facilities for men and women in the armed forces. Activities are limited to California.

Capital Assets: Shares in Rosenberg Bros. and Co., value unstated.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$105,665, of which grants totaled \$96,860.

Rosenfeld — See Mann-Rosenfeld Foundation.

Rosenstiel — Dorothy H. and Lewis Rosenstiel Foundation (1944); 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N.Y.; Lewis S. Rosenstiel, President and Director; Ralph T. Heymsfeld, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Dorothy H. Rosenstiel to perform, encourage, and provide for charitable, religious, scientific, literary, and educational acts and works. The present emphases are on health and social welfare.

Capital Assets: \$7,250,000 (as of May 1, 1945).

Expenditures: From date of organization (October 5, 1944) to May 1, 1945, \$76,000.

Rosenwald — Julius Rosenwald Fund (1917); 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Ill.; Edwin R. Embree, President; Dorothy A. Elvidge, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Fund was established by Julius Rosenwald for "the well-being of mankind." The present program includes the training of teachers for southern rural schools, Negro and white; fellowships to Negroes and to white persons who propose to work in the field of race relations; and general work in race relations, specifically Negro-white relationships.

Capital Assets: \$2,500,000.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$1,138,386. Of this sum, \$1,014,515 represented grants.

Rosenwald — Lessing J. Rosenwald Foundation (1937); Jenkintown, Pa.; Lessing J. Rosenwald, Chairman.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Rotary Educational Foundation of Atlanta, Inc. (1921); 603 Forsyth Building, Atlanta 3, Ga.; Kendall Weisiger, Chairman; Beatrice B. Merck, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Members of the Rotary Club of Atlanta established the Foundation "To promote general interest in education and educational projects. To lend money to young men and young women in acquiring higher education, upon such terms and for such periods as may seem proper . . . To make dona-

tions for philanthropic, benevolent and educational purposes. . . ." In making loans, preference is given to college Juniors and Seniors who are in the top third of their classes.

Capital Assets: \$109,513.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$29,581.

Rotch Travelling Scholarship, Inc.

(1883); c/o Fiduciary Trust Company, 10 Post Office Square, Boston 9, Mass.; Mrs. Annie L. Lamb, President; William Emerson, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by the heirs of Benjamin S. Rotch for the advancement of education in architecture. Ordinarily scholarships are awarded each year to a student for travel abroad for study in architecture but because of war conditions no award has been made since 1941.

Capital Assets: \$89,665.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$444.

Roth — Henry Warren Roth Educational Fund (1935); 2933 Cathedral of Learning, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh 13, Pa.; Robert M. Gilkey, President; Dr. Eugene W. Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: This Fund was established by Miss Elizabeth Stewart in honor and memory of Dr. Henry Warren Roth, first president of Thiel College. It is designed "to assist worthy boys and girls in obtaining an education. Trustees may distribute income either in the form of an outright contribution to worthy boys and girls for educational purposes, or . . . loan from the income of said fund such sums as, in the opinion of said Trustees, will be for the best interests of such boys and girls." Preference shall be given to students or prospective students of Thiel College, but exceptions may be made. During the war, demand for student loans fell off sharply; all promissory notes of students in service were extended to the end of the war, without interest for the extension period.

Capital Assets: \$121,319.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$2,698. Of this sum, \$2,075 represented grants.

Ruggles — Charles F. Ruggles Endowment; Manistee, Mich.; Ewald J. Pfeiffer, Executor.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Russell Sage Foundation. See Sage — Russell Sage Foundation.

Russian Student Fund, Inc. (1920); 215 West 23d Street, New York 11, N.Y.; Alexis R. Wiren, Executive Director; Pierre Routsky, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A revolving fund set up by various contributors to "aid persons of Russian origin and their descendants to obtain academic, technical or professional training in the United States of America; to give financial assistance to Russian students to enable them to undertake or to complete courses of study in schools, colleges or universities or other educational institutions in the United States or conducted elsewhere under American direction, or to obtain practical experience and training in business or commercial houses, firms or corporations; to establish scholarships in educational institutions for the benefit of Russian students; and to establish courses, lectures, and other means of instruction, for the benefit of such Russian students."

Capital Assets: \$366,412.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Rutledge — Edward Rutledge Charity (1911); Chippewa Falls, Wis.; F. G. Martin, President; Walter F. Larrabee, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Edward Rutledge. The net income is to be used to furnish relief for the "worthy poor," and to aid and assist benevolent or charitable associations or institutions. Current interests include child welfare, family welfare, and relief.

Capital Assets: \$1,025,745.

Expenditures: Year ending June 1, 1944, \$33,653, of which grants constituted \$2,297.

Sage — Olivia Sage Fund. See Trudeau — Edward L. Trudeau Foundation.

Sage — Russell Sage Foundation (1907); 130 East 22d Street, New York 10, N.Y.; Shelby M. Harrison, General Director; John M. Glenn, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Mrs. Russell Sage to "promote the improvement of social and living conditions in the United States." Members of the staff of the Foundation study social conditions and methods of social work; interpret the findings; make available the information by publications, conferences, and other means; and seek to stimulate action for social betterment. War-centered activities have included studies of relief and rehabilitation abroad and an employment study. The several departments are: Arts and Social Work, Charity Organization, Consumer Credit Studies, Industrial Studies, Library, Publications, Social Work Interpretation, Social Work Year Book, Statistics, Studies in the Professions. In addition to direct operation through these departments, grants were made to outside agencies in the fields of social welfare, family welfare, and city and regional planning.

Capital Assets: \$15,000,000.

Expenditures: Year ending September 30, 1944, \$570,000. Of this sum, about \$140,000 represented grants to outside agencies.

St. Louis Public Schools Foundation (1916); 911 Locust Street, St. Louis 1, Mo.; Louis Nolte, President; Mervyn E. Wiewhaupt, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: This fund was set up by Ben Blewett to aid teachers or former teachers of St. Louis public schools who are in need, and to furnish loan funds for professional training.

Capital Assets: \$500,068.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$4,119.

Salem Foundation (1930); c/o Pioneer Trust Company, Salem, Ore.; A. N. Bush, President; E. O. Stadter, Jr., Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation is a community trust. The distribution committee is authorized to appropriate the net income in its discretion so that it may "most effectively assist, encourage and promote the well-

being of mankind and primarily the inhabitants of the City of Salem, Oregon, including local public, charitable and educational institutions." The Foundation's present emphasis is on child welfare.

Capital Assets: \$10,000 (as of May 1, 1945).

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$450.

Santa Barbara Foundation (1928); 11 East Carrillo Street, Santa Barbara, Calif.; Robert E. Easton, President; Archie M. Edwards, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: This community trust came into being as a direct result of a gift by Major Max C. Fleischmann making possible a season of free public band concerts in Santa Barbara. An endowment fund was later erected by Major Fleischmann to insure their continuance but this restriction on the use of the fund has since been relinquished. Other donations have been received, and funds have been expended for student loans and for assistance to various local charitable and civic organizations.

Capital Assets: \$519,295.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$11,291. Of this amount, grants and scholarship loans totaled \$6,420.

Saxton — Eugene F. Saxton Memorial Trust (1943); 49 East 33d Street, New York 16, N.Y.; Amy Flashner, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Harper and Brothers to aid creative writers, especially those who have never had books published and who lack established publishing connections or other means of financial assistance, the aid being in the form of outright grants of money. These grants are specifically designed to encourage distinguished writing in the fields of fiction, poetry, biography, history, and the essay, as well as outstanding jobs of reporting, needed popularizations of knowledge, and original interpretations of cultural trends. Applicants must submit definite literary projects which they would undertake or complete if granted financial assistance by the Trust. Such projects must fall within the field of

creative literature. Grants will not be made for experimental research in any of the sciences, or for projects in any of the nonliterary arts.

Capital Assets: \$50,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$231, for operating expenses only. No grants were made as the establishment of the Trust was not announced publicly until November 1944.

Scarsdale Foundation, Inc.; Scarsdale, N.Y.; George B. Clifton, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Schalkenbach — Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, Inc. (1925); 50 East 69th Street, New York 21, N.Y.; Lawson Purdy, President; V. G. Peterson, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The purpose of this Foundation, which was established by Robert Schalkenbach, is to keep before the public the ideas of Henry George as set forth in his book *Progress and Poverty* and his other writings, especially what are popularly known as the Single Tax on Land Values and International Trade; to secure discussion and consideration of these doctrines and their probable effect upon social welfare; and to aid in the education of the public in the science of economics and sound principles of taxation. In line with this purpose the Foundation's entire activities are devoted to educating the public as to a sound economic program for social betterment.

Capital Assets: \$168,878.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$9,767. Of this sum, grants constituted \$1,270.

Schepp — Leopold Schepp Foundation (1925); 551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.; Roger H. Williams, President; Lucia Temple, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Leopold Schepp for the furtherance of the religious development and the moral, civic, and educational advancement of boys and girls. Scholarships are given to young men and young women under thirty years of age who prove

acceptable, to help them to complete their professional or vocational education, or to assist them in other ways toward their chosen careers; and efforts are made to fulfill the aims of the founder through personal intercourse between them and the trustees and staff of the Foundation.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Schimper — Frederick and Amelia Schimper Foundation (1943); Room 1500, 29 Broadway, New York 6, N.Y.; George F. Sauer, President; William E. Friedman, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Set up by the Will of Amelia S. Ehrmann, this Foundation may apply income or principal, in whole or in part, for the benefit of indigent, aged persons, without regard to race or creed.

Capital Assets: \$250,000.

Expenditures: For last six months of 1944, \$5,039. Of this sum, \$4,033 represented grants.

Schlieder — Edward G. Schlieder Foundation (1945); c/o F. W. Salmen, Salmen Brick and Lumber Company, Ltd., American Bank Building, New Orleans 12, La.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Edward G. Schlieder for charitable and educational purposes. The Foundation is in the process of formation and funds are not yet available.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Schmidlapp — Charlotte R. Schmidlapp Fund (1907); c/o Fifth Third Union Trust Company, Cincinnati 2, Ohio; John J. Rowe, President; Rosalie Phillips, Director.

Purpose and Activities: Given in memory of his daughter by Jacob G. Schmidlapp, the Fund is used "in aiding young girls in the preparation for womanhood, by bringing their minds and hearts under the influence of education, relieving their bodies from disease, suffering or constraint and assisting them to establish themselves in life. . . ." Money is advanced to aid young women in obtaining further education, the recipients assuming the

moral obligation of returning the money when they begin to earn and are able to do so. No time limit is set and no interest is charged. First consideration is given to Cincinnati residents without regard to nationality, race, or creed. The war brought fewer requests for such aid and a large amount of money previously advanced has been returned.

Capital Assets: \$857,325.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$19,484. Of this sum, grants constituted \$16,238.

Schurz — Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc. (1930); 420 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 6, Pa.; Ferdinand Thun, President; Wilbur K. Thomas, Executive Director and Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by 142 founder members, the purpose of the Foundation is to find ways and means to conserve the cultural heritage of the Americans of German descent as a contribution to the development of this country. A research library is maintained and a periodical, *The American-German Review*, published. The Foundation and the Oberlaender Trust, which is an integral part of the Foundation, offer scholarships and are active in the fields of education, city and regional planning, religion, and recreation.

Capital Assets: \$389,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$69,000. Of this sum, grants constituted \$12,000.

Schwab — Sidney Schwab Foundation; c/o Victor Weill, 40 Central Park South, New York 19, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Schwartz — Samuel Schwartz Memorial Fund; c/o Leo Schwartz, 596 Sixth Avenue, New York 11, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Schwarzhaupt — Emil Schwarzhaupt Foundation; c/o Emil Schwarzhaupt, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems (1922); Miami University, Oxford, Ohio; Warren S. Thompson, Director; P. K. Whelpton, Associate Director.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by E. W. Scripps "for the study of population problems in the United States." Recent studies have been concerned chiefly with the movements of population and changes in its growth in the United States, although considerable effort has also been devoted to study of the population movements in other nations and regions.

Capital Assets: \$260,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$24,000. In addition to its own income, this Foundation received grants from other agencies for its work.

Selling — Ben Selling Scholarship Loan Fund (1931); c/o First National Bank of Portland, S.W. 6th and Stark Streets, Portland 4, Ore.; W. E. Price, Administrative Officer.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Ben Selling to provide loans to students attending Oregon colleges or normal schools, or any rabbinical college in the United States. Because of lack of demand, few student loans were made in 1944.

Capital Assets: \$144,651.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$3,239. Of this sum, student loans aggregated \$2,428.

Service League Foundation, Inc. (1921); 1319 Main Street, Springfield 3, Mass.; Edward Kronvall, President; Earl H. Paine, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Frank Beebe and others to develop by vocational and educational methods the aptitudes of the individual for work in industry, arts, professions, etc.; to develop and assist settlements and community activities in self-help programs; to develop and promote boys' and girls' clubs; to provide the necessities of life for those in need; and to provide an efficient and experienced organization for receiving and administering funds and permanent endowments for any charitable or benevolent purpose.

Capital Assets: \$452,205.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$11,400.

Shapiro Scholarship Fund, Inc. (1941);
1441 Broadway, New York 18, N.Y.; Benjamin Shapiro, President; Joseph Shapiro, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: To assist worthy students in furthering their education, and to contribute to hospitals and colleges for medical research. Applications for scholarships are submitted to the Shapiro Foundation whose board of trustees passes upon the awards. The funds used in connection with such awards are supplied to the Foundation by the Shapiro Scholarship Fund. Scholarship applications should be filed before May 15 in each year. To date 489 scholarships have been awarded.

Capital Assets: \$120,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$20,000, all in the form of grants.

Singer — Saul Singer Foundation
(1941); 70 Pine Street, New York 5, N.Y.; Herbert M. Singer, President; Ralph B. Neuburger, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Herbert M. Singer for general charitable and educational purposes. It has been the policy of the Foundation up to the present to make grants to outside agencies principally in the fields of social welfare and war relief.

Capital Assets: \$125,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$4,025. This entire sum was expended in grants.

Slater — John F. Slater Fund. See
Southern Education Foundation.

Sloan — Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, Inc. (1934); 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.; Harold S. Sloan, Executive Director; Genevieve M. King, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., this Foundation has, since January 1938, devoted its resources exclusively to the field of American economic education and research, and acts only as a grant-making agency. It conducts no educational work on its

own account, but grants financial aid for specific projects submitted and carried on by fully accredited educational institutions within the borders of the United States. Recent emphases have been in the fields of radio, pamphlets, motion pictures, tax analysis, and applied economics. The University of Chicago Round Table weekly broadcasts and pamphlets of the Public Affairs Committee are among the best-known projects receiving support from the Foundation.

Capital Assets: \$5,992,610.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$280,548. Of this sum, \$233,256 represented grants.

Smith — Alexander Smith Memorial Foundation, Inc. (1940); 255 Lake Avenue, Yonkers 1, N.Y.; William F. C. Ewing, President; C. Parker Lattin, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation supports charities or charitable purposes "having as the main object or one of the main objects, benefit to people or the community within the territory now included within the boundaries of the City of Yonkers in the State of New York." Interests include health, child welfare, family welfare, relief, and recreation. The Foundation published and distributed free to all Yonkers men and women in the armed forces a weekly newspaper in which local news was summarized. The war brought a concentration of gifts on wartime agencies.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$78,138, of which grants constituted \$78,060.

Smith — Harold V. Smith Educational Foundation; c/o H. V. Smith, 59 Maiden Lane, New York 7, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Smith — Horace Smith Fund (1899); 25 Harrison Avenue, Springfield 3, Mass.; Edward H. Marsh, President; Horace J. Rice, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Horace Smith to aid deserving young men and women in acquiring an advanced education, either academic, commercial, industrial, or professional.

"Graduates of Springfield schools and schools of Hampden County as well as students with an established residence in Springfield, in good health and of satisfactory scholastic standing without distinction as to race, creed, or color, are eligible to grants from this fund."

Capital Assets: \$486,513.

Expenditures: Year ending September 1, 1944, \$5,138. Of this sum, student loans totaled \$2,480.

Snyder — Valentine Perry Snyder Fund (1942); c/o Guaranty Trust Company of New York, 140 Broadway, New York 15, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: This Fund is a trust in perpetuity, established by the Will of Sheda T. Snyder in memory of her husband. The income is to be used for such public charitable, religious, educational, or benevolent corporations, associations, or institutions as the trustee in its absolute discretion may select. In accordance with the donor's expressed wish, the income is now being distributed to the list of organizations toward support of which Mrs. Snyder had contributed during her lifetime.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Southern Education Foundation (1937); 726 Jackson Place, NW., Washington 6, D.C.; Arthur D. Wright, President.

Purpose and Activities: To co-operate with public and private school officials and others in improving educational and living conditions, with special regard for the needs of the Negro race. This objective is promoted by grants of money, or through the co-operation of the officers of the Foundation with such officials and others, or in such other ways as may be determined by the board of directors. At present the chief activity is to aid in the support of some 475 supervisors of Negro rural schools. The Foundation is a combination, effected July 1, 1937, of the boards of trustees of the John F. Slater Fund and of the Negro Rural School Fund (Anna T. Jeanes Foundation).

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Spartanburg Community Foundation; Spartanburg, S.C.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Spelman Fund of New York (1928); 49 West 49th Street, New York 20, N.Y.; Charles E. Merriam, Chairman; Constance Murdoch, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, the Fund was formed "for exclusively charitable, scientific and educational purposes, including the advancement and diffusion of knowledge concerning child life, the improvement of interracial relations, and cooperation with public agencies." The Fund's present program is limited to co-operation with public or quasi-public agencies in the improvement of administrative methods and procedure. It operates entirely through grants to other agencies.

Capital Assets: \$1,254,580.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$361,000. Of this amount, grants totaled \$344,738.

Spokane Foundation (1915); c/o Old National Bank of Spokane, Spokane 7, Wash.; Rev. H. A. Van Winkle, Chairman; L. C. Fendler, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, set up to assist charitable and educational institutions whether supported by private donations or public taxation, and to aid such social purposes as will best make for the mental, moral, and physical improvement of the inhabitants of Spokane, regardless of race, color, or creed. Current activities are in the social welfare field.

Capital Assets: \$23,488.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$731.

Sprague — Seth Sprague Foundation; c/o Dunnington, Bartholow and Miller, 1 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Stavisky Family Foundation; c/o Public National Bank and Trust Company, Broadway and 24th Street, New York 10, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Stern — Marion R. Stern Fund. *See* Ascoli — Marion R. Ascoli Fund.

Stettenheim — Flora R. and Isidor M. Stettenheim Foundation (1930); 17 Cedar Street, New York 7, N.Y.; I. M. Stettenheim, President.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Stokes. *See* Phelps-Stokes — Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, Inc.

Storrow Gift. *See* Franklin Foundation.

Straus — Roger and Gladys Straus Foundation, Inc. (1937); 120 Broadway, New York 5, N.Y.; Roger W. Straus, President; James Moore, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: This fund was established by Roger W. and Gladys G. Straus "to apply to educational, scientific and charitable purposes the income or the principal of such property as the corporation shall from time to time possess; to render financial or other voluntary aid or assistance to individuals, corporations, associations or institutions as are now or may hereafter be engaged in furthering or improving the physical, mental or moral condition of humanity." Recent activities have been in the fields of health, race relations, religion, and social welfare.

Capital Assets: \$125,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$44,017. Of this sum, \$43,967 represented grants.

Strauss — Lewis and Rosa Strauss Memorial Fund (1936); c/o Kuhn, Loeb and Company, 52 William Street, New York 5, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Strong — Hattie M. Strong Foundation (1928); 502 National Savings and Trust Building, 15th Street and New York Avenue, NW., Washington 2, D.C.; L. Corrin Strong, President; Mrs. C. E. Bowers, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Mrs. Henry Alvah Strong. The Foundation lends money, without interest, to exceptional students who would be seriously handicapped or unable to finish their education without such assistance. The method of repayment is arranged in such a manner as to work a minimum of hardship on a young man or woman just beginning a career.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Strong — Henry Strong Educational Foundation (1919); 50 South La Salle Street, Chicago 3, Ill.; Gordon Strong, President; A. J. Wilson, Secretary-Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Established under the Will of Henry Strong to assist undergraduate Juniors or Seniors who need financial assistance to complete their college courses and get their degrees. The borrower must be under 25 years of age, not taking a strictly classical course, and attending an accredited school not of the high-tuitional group. Some 50 colleges and universities, mostly in the Middle West, participate in allotments from this fund. Students in these colleges should apply through their college; direct application may be made by students in accredited colleges not on this list. Funds are granted on a loan basis at a nominal rate of interest. During the war a sharp reduction in demand for student loans occurred.

Capital Assets: \$418,418.

Expenditures: Year ending April 30, 1944, \$28,720. Of this sum, \$21,910 represented loans to students.

Suarez — Evelyn Marshall Suarez Foundation; c/o Clifford M. Bowden, Law Firm of Shearman and Sterling, 55 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Sullivan — Algernon Sydney Sullivan Foundation (1930); 63 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.; William E. Bardusch, President.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation, organized through the efforts of George Ham-

mond Sullivan, is still in a "more or less formative stage." Its purpose is to promote in general the welfare of mankind, and more particularly to carry on the philanthropies of the late Algernon Sydney Sullivan and of Mary Mildred Sullivan, especially the education of children of any age and circumstance. Grants for scholarships have been made to certain of the smaller southern colleges.

Capital Assets: \$375,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$5,341. Of this sum, grants totaled \$3,750.

Sumatra-Java Foundation; 70 Pine Street, New York 5, N.Y.; J. Theodor Cremer, Carel Goldschmidt, Trustees; Betty L. Brown, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Summerfield — Solon E. Summerfield Foundation, Inc. (1939); 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.; Solon E. Summerfield, President; Joseph A. Tiano, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation was set up by S. E. Summerfield "to receive and maintain a fund or funds and apply the income and principal thereof exclusively to charitable, religious, scientific, literary or educational purposes to be carried on by this corporation." The chief current emphasis is on education.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$27,500.

Surdna Foundation (1935); c/o Larkin, Rathbone and Perry, 70 Broadway, New York 4, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Swedenborg Foundation, Inc. (1850); 51 East 42d Street, New York 17, N.Y.; Forster W. Freeman, President; William H. Hatfield, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: To distribute the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg; to hold meetings, lectures, debates, and conferences as a means of promoting interest in his writings and teachings; and to maintain reading rooms

for reference and study of such writings and teachings.

Capital Assets: \$666,000.

Expenditures: Year ending March 31, 1944, \$21,327.

Switzer — Margaret and Sarah Switzer Foundation for Girls; 331 West 18th Street, New York 11, N.Y.; Joseph G. Quinn, Jr., President.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Talcott — James Talcott Fund, Inc.; 225 Fourth Avenue, New York 3, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Taylor — Charles Fremont Taylor Trust (1914); Haverford, Pa.; Thomas R. White, Chairman of Trustees; Clarence Gilbert Hoag, Secretary and Treasurer of Trustees.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Charles Fremont Taylor "to promote improvements in the structure and methods of government."

Capital Assets: \$205,762.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$16,064. Of this sum, grants totaled \$15,965.

Teagle Foundation, Inc. (1944); 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.; Walter C. Teagle, President; M. R. Williams, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Set up by Walter Teagle, the Foundation has as its general purpose to aid institutions of learning, hospitals and agencies engaged in the discovery, treatment, and cure of disease, charitable and relief organizations; and to promote the well-being and general good of mankind. Mr. Teagle had the further thought of providing through this fund means of assisting employes of oil companies and their families in certain distress situations, or securing for them educational advantages which they might seek.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Too recently organized for data to be pertinent.

Thompson — Thomas Thompson Trust (1869); 906 Little Building, Boston 16, Mass.; John F. Moors, Roger B. Tyler, Benjamin T. Fawcett, Trustees.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Thomas Thompson, the Trust's purpose is to promote social service, hospital and medical care, and care of the aged.

Capital Assets: \$1,250,000.

Expenditures: Year ending May 31, 1944, \$58,000.

Thomson — John Edgar Thomson Foundation (1882); 4703 Kingsessing Avenue, Philadelphia 43, Pa.; Mrs. Jessie R. Wilson, Director; Edwin F. Gailey, Secretary and Treasurer, Board of Trustees.

Purpose and Activities: This work was established by Mrs. Thomson under the Will of J. Edgar Thomson, former president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. Its purpose is to assist with the education and maintenance of daughters of deceased railroad employees.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$50,000. Of this sum, \$25,048 represented grants.

Tiffany — Louis Comfort Tiffany Foundation (1918); 1083 Fifth Avenue, New York 28, N.Y.; Hobart Nichols, Executive Director; William J. Fielding, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation, which was set up by Louis Comfort Tiffany, is active in art education directed toward both art appreciation and production, within the scope of the industrial as well as the fine arts. Scholarships in the form of tuition and board during the student's period of residence at the Foundation's Art School are usually offered, but due to the war the activities of the School were temporarily suspended.

Capital Assets: \$910,883.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$35,156.

Tilles — Rosalie Tilles Non-Sectarian Charity Fund (1926); Suite 1401, 705 Olive Street, St. Louis 1, Mo.; George T. Priest, Chairman of the Board; Mrs. Marilyn Goge, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Set up by C. A. Tilles "in aid of helpless and deserving girls and boys residing in the City of St. Louis or St. Louis County, who are in need of physical or educational help, without discrimination as to religion, creed or race." The chief current activity is the awarding of scholarships to high school students.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$10,506. Of this sum, grants totaled \$7,805.

Timken Foundation of Canton; 1835 Dueber Avenue, SW., Canton 6, Ohio; W. Robert Timken, Secretary-Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Tolstoy Foundation, Inc. (1941); 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.; Alexandra Tolstoy, President; Tatiana Schaufuss, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation assists Russians in America and abroad, outside the Soviet Union, particularly displaced intellectuals, professional persons, and the aged, sick, or disabled. Reed Farm in America is maintained as a rest home and year-round children's camp and cultural center for the fostering of Russian religion, history, literature, and art. Since the start of the war, assistance has been given to Russian prisoners of war. As a member agency of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, the Foundation initiates various measures to co-ordinate and consolidate the welfare work of Russian agencies in the United States raising funds for relief abroad.

Capital Assets: \$50,559.

Expenditures: Year ending September 30, 1944, \$94,407.

Travelli — Charles Irwin Travelli Fund (1914); 24 School Street, Boston 8, Mass.; Sumner Robinson, President; Bertha M. Whitman, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Fund, formerly Trustees of the Irwin Fund, was founded by Charles I. Travelli for the purpose of "furnishing aid and comfort to the deserving poor;

contributing to the support of other Massachusetts charitable corporations or associations, and generally for the doing and carrying on of educational, charitable, benevolent and religious work." Current emphases include the fields of health, education, and social welfare.

Capital Assets: None. The Fund has use of income only.

Expenditures: Year ending November 30, 1944, \$24,438, all expended in grants.

Trebor Foundation (1937); 101 West Tenth Street, Wilmington 41, Del.; Ellen N. Watson, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Trudeau — Edward L. Trudeau Foundation (1916); Saranac Lake, N.Y.; Dr. Leroy U. Gardner, President; Roy Dayton, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation is a department of the Trudeau Sanatorium. Its assets consist of the Trudeau Foundation proper, contributed by many subscribers to a fund in memory of Dr. Edward L. Trudeau, the Olivia Sage Fund, and the E. H. Harriman Fund. Purposes of the Foundation are the prosecution of researches in the causes, nature, and treatment of tuberculosis and other diseases; teaching of all that pertains to the said diseases; maintenance of laboratories and schools together with buildings in connection with the said purposes; special training in tuberculosis for physicians; investigations in tuberculosis, silicosis, and other diseases of the chest, particularly those caused by dusts in industrial plants, mines, foundries, etc.; consultation service on health hazards to industry and the industrial hygiene departments of various state and dominion governments in the United States and Canada. The war brought new emphasis on investigations, surveys, and consultation service to both industry and government on the health of workers in many war and war-connected industries.

Capital Assets: \$544,588.

Expenditures: Year ending September 30, 1944, \$117,636.

Tucker — Marcia Brady Tucker Foundation, Inc.; 420 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.; William J. Heron, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Tulsa Permanent Community Trust.
See Reed — Frank H. Reed Permanent Community Trust.

Turrell Fund (1935); 100 North Arlington Avenue, East Orange, N.J.; Herbert Turrell, President; Margaret Turrell, Vice-President.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Herbert and Margaret Turrell and the Bertrell Corporation, this Fund was "organized for service to neediest children." In addition to its reported expenditures, the Fund is the channel for substantial current gifts of the Turrells.

Capital Assets: \$2,601,235.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$66,120. Of this sum, \$59,804 represented grants.

Twentieth Century Fund, Inc. (1919); 330 West 42d Street, New York 18, N.Y.; Evans Clark, Executive Director.

Purpose and Activities: The Fund was founded by Edward A. Filene for the "improvement of economic, industrial, civic and educational conditions." In the early years of its existence, it acted solely as a disbursing agency, making annual grants to outside agencies. Since 1938, however, the Fund has operated as a non-profit, nonpartisan organization for research and public education on economic questions and has devoted all its resources to its own activities. For each Fund survey a research staff assembles and appraises the facts, which are then reviewed by a qualified committee of citizens who formulate a program of action in the public interest. The Fund publishes the combined research and committee findings in book form, giving them further dissemination through organizations, the press and radio, popular pamphlets, special articles, and motion pictures. In recent years the Fund, in addition to its general economic surveys, has

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placed major emphasis on problems of the postwar period, including surveys of the country's postwar needs and resources, and of financial, housing, labor, trade, and other major readjustment problems.

Capital Assets: \$450,667, plus 150,000 shares of Wm. Filene's Sons Co. common stock.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$203,609.

Unger — Clara Buttenwieser Unger Memorial Foundation; 7 Dey Street, New York 7, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

United Brethren in Christ, Church of the. See Board of Christian Education of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.

Upjohn — W. E. Upjohn Unemployment Trustee Corporation (1932); 301 Henrietta Street, Kalamazoo 99, Mich.; L. N. Upjohn, Chairman; Walter L. Otis, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by William E. and Carrie G. Upjohn for research into the causes and effects of unemployment and to study and investigate the feasibility and methods of insuring against unemployment, and devise ways and means of preventing and alleviating the distress and hardship caused by unemployment. Fellowships are offered in municipal research. The Corporation owns and operates Upjohn Richland Farms, and has established the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research. The purpose of the Institute, which opened its doors on July 1, 1945, is to conduct statistical, psychological, or other pertinent studies that may be called for in furthering the work of the various educational, social, welfare, or employment organizations in the community, with special attention to functions of the community occupational adjustment program.

Capital Assets: \$489,988.

Expenditures: Year ending February 29, 1944, \$6,600, exclusive of farm expenditures. This sum was expended in the form of grants.

Van Wert County Foundation (1925); YMCA Building, Van Wert, Ohio; H. T. Beckmann, President; E. C. Humphreys, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Various donors have contributed to this community trust. The largest gift to date has been earmarked for musical education for the underprivileged. The use to which other gifts may be put has been left to the discretion of the trustees.

Capital Assets: \$137,550.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$3,906.

Victoria Foundation, Inc. (1924); 15 Exchange Place, Jersey City 2, N.J.; Hendon Chubb, President; Anne Bain, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation, established by Hendon Chubb, maintains a Children's Rheumatic Heart Unit as a hospital with 22 beds at Morris Plains, New Jersey, and is active in the social welfare field. The original purpose, to aid charitable activities including all those matters which come under the head of social service or relief work and also to aid in the betterment of the housing problem, was later amended to cover the establishment of a sanitarium for the treatment and care of all the various manifestations of rheumatic and cardiac diseases. During the war special donations were made to wartime agencies.

Capital Assets: \$2,689,405.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$65,351.

Viking Fund, Inc. (1941); 14 East 71st Street, New York 21, N.Y.; Richard C. Hunt, President; William K. Dupre, Secretary and Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: The Fund was created and endowed at the instance of Axel Wenner-Gren for the promotion and support of scientific, educational, and charitable enterprises. The Fund is actively interested in the field of anthropology and related sciences.

Capital Assets: \$2,377,500.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$64,688. Of this sum, grants totaled \$40,633.

Volker — William Volker Charities Fund, Inc.; c/o William Volker, 230 Main Street, Kansas City, Mo.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Walker. See Harbison-Walker Foundation, Inc.

Warburg — Felix M. and Frieda Schiff Warburg Foundation (1935); 52 William Street, New York 5, N.Y.; Mrs. Felix M. Warburg, President; Joseph A. Marks, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Mrs. Felix M. Warburg. The Foundation's purposes are very broad and permit the expenditure of the income and principal of the funds to ". . . the free and voluntary aid and assistance of all and any religious, charitable, educational, scientific and literary activities, agencies and institutions which are exclusively devoted to the mental, physical and spiritual welfare of man." The Foundation was formerly called the Woodlands Foundation, but its name was changed in 1937 to the one it now bears.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Washington Foundation; c/o Washington Loan and Trust Company, Washington, D.C.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Waterbury Foundation (1924); 60 North Main Street, Waterbury 91, Conn.; John P. Elton, President; Edwin C. Northrop, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, whose donors are the original incorporators. Recent activities have been in the fields of social welfare including child and family welfare, race relations, mental hygiene, and the handicapped.

Capital Assets: \$85,500.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$5,754. Of this sum, \$5,723 represented grants.

Watertown Foundation, Inc. (1929); Watertown, N.Y.; Harvey R. Waite, President; Bernard A. Gray, Secretary-Treasurer and Manager.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust. The Foundation may "aid generally in all forms of charitable, benevolent, philanthropic, educational and welfare work in such ways and by such methods as are allowed by corporations organized under the Membership Corporations Law of the State of New York." The Watertown Community Chest and War Fund has been the chief recent beneficiary.

Capital Assets: \$86,582.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$3,050, all in grants.

Watumull Foundation (1942); 937 Malcolm Avenue, Los Angeles 24, Calif.; Mrs. G. J. Watumull, Chairman of the Distribution Committee.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Gobindram J. Watumull to promote cultural co-operation between the United States and India and to further such educational work as will help increase India's national efficiency; and to contribute to the cultural life of the Hawaiian Islands. The Foundation is just beginning its work of bringing students from India to the United States. Chief emphases, aside from education, include international relations, race relations, and aesthetics.

Capital Assets: \$264,791.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$19,290 in grants.

Weber — Gertrude Weber Foundation; c/o Mrs. O. Bromberg, 98-15 65th Road, Forest Hills, Long Island, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Wentz — Lew Wentz Foundation; c/o L. H. Wentz, Ponca City, Okla.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Wheat Ridge Foundation (1944); Lutheran Sanatorium, Wheat Ridge, Colo.; E. J. Friedrich, D.D., Executive Director.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation has been set up by the Evangelical Lutheran Sanatorium Association of Denver, which will allocate funds annually in the month of November. The amount allocated will depend upon the Association's income. The Foundation's purpose is to inaugurate and promote a medical social service program within the Lutheran Church of America in the field of tuberculosis. Scholarships on the graduate level will be granted for education and training in this field. The Foundation began operation in June 1945.

Capital Assets: \$50,000 (as of May 5, 1945).

Expenditures: None to date.

White — City of Boston, George Robert White Fund (1922); Room 45, City Hall, Boston 8, Mass.; George L. Driscoll, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Given by George Robert White, its income to be devoted to "the use and enjoyment of the inhabitants of the City of Boston," this Fund has for its trustees the mayor of the city, president of the Boston City Council, city auditor, president of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, and president of the Boston bar association. Current activities are in the fields of health and recreation. The trustees have committed themselves to a war memorial and recreation center in the city of Boston as postwar projects at an estimated cost for both projects of \$1,200,000.

Capital Assets: \$6,000,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$237,568.

White Memorial Foundation, Inc. (1913); Litchfield, Conn.; William Mitchell Van Winkle, President; Samuel H. Fisher, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: This fund was established by May W. and Alain C. White to promote the care and welfare of needy invalids or convalescents of both sexes, and to provide the inmates of homes or other sick and needy

persons with medical and surgical treatment, rest, and recreation; to promote the establishment or maintenance of buildings, parks, public forests, or pleasure grounds for the recreation and enjoyment of the public, thereby affording opportunity for the study and promotion of natural scenery, agriculture, horticulture, and forestry; and to promote the study, protection, and improvement of animals. Current activities include child welfare, recreation, and work for the handicapped.

Capital Assets: \$1,032,842.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$40,332. Of this sum, contributions totaled \$1,105.

White — Thomas H. White Charitable Trust (1913); 916 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland 1, Ohio; I. F. Freiburger, Chairman of the Board of the Cleveland Trust Company.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Thomas H. White for educational and charitable purposes in Cleveland, including assistance to young men who are desirous to obtain a technical education at Case School of Applied Science; promotion of scientific research; care of the sick, aged, or helpless; improvement of living conditions; and provision of recreation. The founder has stipulated that donations shall be made without regard to race, creed, or color. Current activities include child welfare, family welfare, relief, and the awarding of scholarships.

Capital Assets: In excess of \$2,000,000, subject to numerous life estates. By reason of the death of one beneficiary, a portion of that income is now available.

Expenditures: Year ending July 1, 1944, \$11,481. Of this amount, grants totaled \$10,957.

White — William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation, Inc. (1933); 1835 Eye Street, NW., Washington 6, D.C.; Dr. Ross McClure Chapman, President; Dr. Ernest E. Hadley, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation, a memorial to William Alanson White, is dedicated to "... the promotion of human welfare by the encouragement and maintenance

of research into human personality and its distortions; . . . investigating and treating mental conditions, neuroses, psychoses, the personality disorders, and crime." Emphasis is placed on research, teaching, and the wise dissemination of psychiatry. Special projects include The Washington School of Psychiatry; *Psychiatry: A Journal of the Biology and Pathology of Interpersonal Relations*—a quarterly publication of the Foundation; and a reference library. The Foundation is currently interested in postgraduate specialist training for physicians in psychiatry and related fields.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

White-Williams Foundation (1800); 604 Administration Building, The Parkway at 21st Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.; Lewis M. Stevens, President; M. Katherine Bennett, Executive Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Beginning as the Magdalen Society in 1800, the Foundation changed early in the twentieth century from protective work with delinquent girls to a program built around the needs of Philadelphia school children, both boys and girls. Since 1916 the Foundation, in co-operation with the Philadelphia Board of Public Education, has undertaken various forms of experimental work in the fields of vocational guidance and placement, health work, social work in the Division of Pupil Personnel and Counseling, psychological testing, high school scholarships, and school counseling.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Whitehall Foundation; c/o Corn Products Refining Company, 17 Battery Place, New York 4, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Whitehead — Joseph B. Whitehead Foundation (1937); 205 Whitehead Building, Atlanta 3, Ga.; Mrs. Lettie P. Evans, Chairman Board of Trustees; Samuel L. Jones, Secretary and Managing Director.

Purpose and Activities: Under the Will of Joseph B. Whitehead, Jr., the Foundation was set up to distribute income from the estate to charities in the community of Atlanta; one-fourth for the benefit of orphans, and the balance to charitable institutions engaged in relief of pain and suffering and poverty, hospitals, and schools without regard to race, color, or creed. Current activities include child welfare and work for the handicapped.

Capital Assets: \$5,000,000 (estimated).

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$408,747, of which grants amounted to \$389,352.

Whiteside — George B. Whiteside Templar Memorial Fund (1923); P.O. Box 1558, Atlanta 1, Ga.; Thomas C. Law, President; Early H. Johnson, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Mrs. Carrie E. Whiteside to provide scholarships in education and government to be made available annually to boys and girls in rural sections of Georgia.

Capital Assets: \$70,785.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$750, expended in grants.

Whiting — Flora E. Whiting Foundation; c/o Irving Miller, 122 East 42d Street, New York 17, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Whitney Benefits (1927); Sheridan, Wyo.; C. V. Davis, President; B. G. McKeen, Secretary-Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Edward A. Whitney to aid "the needy and deserving young men and young women (of Sheridan County, Wyoming) in attaining through education such positions in life as may appeal to them as best suited to their individual needs and capacity . . . by loaning them money out of the net income . . . on such terms as to time of repayment as may meet each case and without interest except as may be gratuitously offered . . . the aid is as freely offered to the hand worker as the brain worker." Funds are

being accumulated for the erection of a community building.

Capital Assets: \$1,283,261.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$13,647. Of this sum, student loans amounted to \$6,600.

Whitney — William C. Whitney Foundation (1937); 120 Broadway, New York 5, N.Y.; Michael W. Straight, President; Milton C. Rose, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Mrs. Dorothy Whitney Elmhirst for the betterment and improvement of mankind. The Foundation's chief interests are in the fields of education, social welfare, economics, international relations, and race relations.

Capital Assets: \$1,500,000.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$67,700. Of this sum, grants constituted \$58,450.

Wieboldt Foundation (1921); 106 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago 7, Ill.; Werner A. Wieboldt, President; Herbert Sieck, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Mr. and Mrs. William A. Wieboldt for such charitable purposes as are "for the benefit of an indefinite number of persons either by bringing their hearts under the influence of education and religion or relieving their bodies from disease, suffering or constraint, or by erecting or maintaining public buildings or works or otherwise lessening the burdens of government. Donations may be made only to such charitable institutions (1) as are operated primarily for the benefit of the population of the metropolitan area of Chicago, or (2) whose principal activity is carried on in such area, or (3) which in an emergency alleviate human suffering caused by major catastrophes occurring within the United States." Current activities are in the social welfare field, including contributions to various wartime agencies.

Capital Assets: \$5,081,057.

Expenditures: Year ending November 30, 1944, \$241,000. This entire sum was expended in grants.

Wilder — Amherst H. Wilder Charity (1910); Washington and 5th Streets, St. Paul 2, Minn.; Frederic R. Bigelow, President; F. M. Rarig, Jr., Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Amherst H. and Fanny S. Wilder and Cornelia Day Wilder Appleby "to aid and assist the poor, sick, aged, or otherwise needy people of the City of Saint Paul, Minnesota." Chief emphases are in the health and social welfare fields, including a dental program; school lunches; contributions to the Wilder Medical Dispensary, Wilder Child Guidance Clinic, and Wilder Visiting Nurse Service; general relief; public baths; day nurseries; and research.

Capital Assets: \$4,053,580.

Expenditures: Year ending June 30, 1944, \$225,175, of which grants constituted \$21,566.

Williams. See White-Williams Foundation.

Williamsport Foundation or Community Trust (1916); 102 West 4th Street, Williamsport 63, Pa.; Herbert M. Carson, Chairman of Williamsport Foundation Committee; Charles A. Schreyer, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: A community trust, whose funds may be used "for assisting charitable and educational institutions, whether supported by private donations or public taxation, for promoting education for scientific research, for care of the sick, aged or helpless, to improve living conditions or to provide recreation for all classes, and such other charitable purposes as will best make for the mental, moral and physical improvement of the inhabitants of Williamsport and the community, as now or hereafter constituted, regardless of race, color or creed. . . ." Current emphases include child welfare, family welfare, relief, and work for the handicapped.

Capital Assets: \$624,454.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$20,585, of which grants constituted \$19,600.

Willkie Trust Fund; 15 Broad Street, New York 5, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Wills Hospital Fund. See Board of Directors of City Trusts, City of Philadelphia.

Willson — Alfred L. Willson Charitable Foundation (1919); c/o J. R. Cole, Treasurer, 16 East Broad Street, Columbus 15, Ohio; Frederick Shedd, President; Harrison M. Sayre, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Alfred L. Willson for the prevention and arresting of subnormal development of individuals, applied as early in child life as is possible. Present activities, confined to local interests, include support of a children's hospital, a center for the prevention of delinquency, and summer camps for children.

Capital Assets: \$2,592,472.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$70,395, all of which was expended in grants.

Wilson — Woodrow Wilson Foundation (1922); 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, N.Y.; Mrs. Burnett Mahon, Executive Director.

Purpose and Activities: Originating from popular subscription in honor of the President, this fund "shall have for its particular object the promotion of public welfare, the advancement of liberal thought and the furtherance of peace through justice for the benefit of the people of the United States and of other nations." In 1929 the Foundation established the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Library, expanded around a unique collection of League of Nations documents and now including publications of the various League Commissions, International Labour Office, the Permanent Court of International Justice, the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, and a postwar collection. As a result of the war, grants to other organizations have been curtailed, and the Foundation has inaugurated a publications program geared to popular education, leading toward a better understanding of the problems involved in establishment of a general international organization. An electrically transcribed radio program on international affairs is issued to local stations throughout the country.

Capital Assets: \$810,496.

Expenditures: Year ending April 30, 1944, \$27,960. Of this sum, \$5,000 represented grants.

Winfield Foundation; 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Winston-Salem Foundation (1919); Wachovia Bank and Trust Company, Winston-Salem, N.C.; R. E. Lasater, Chairman of Winston-Salem Foundation Committee; Charles E. Norfleet, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation was created as a community trust for the purpose of assisting charitable, religious, and educational institutions, supported by private donations or public taxation; for promoting education and scientific research; for care of the sick, aged, or helpless; for improving living conditions; for providing recreation for all classes; and for such other charitable purposes as will best make for the mental, moral, and physical improvement of the inhabitants of the city of Winston-Salem as now or hereafter constituted, regardless of race, color, or creed, according to the discretion of a majority in number of the Winston-Salem Foundation Committee.

Capital Assets: \$701,365.

Expenditures: Year ending October 14, 1944, \$11,073. Of this sum, grants constituted \$6,737.

Winter — Selmene Winter Foundation (1925); 323 Bellaire Street, Denver 7, Colo.; Mrs. Lillian W. Michelson, President; Dr. W. Walter Wasson, Director.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Mrs. Lillian W. Michelson to provide means for research concerning children, the Foundation has as its object the developmental study of children. It is now temporarily inactive.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

Wohl Foundation (1940); 1601 Washington Avenue, St. Louis 3, Mo.

Purpose and Activities: Founded by Mr. and Mrs. David P. Wohl. Funds are for charitable, scientific, literary, and educational purposes in St. Louis and St. Louis County. The Foundation's activities have been curtailed due to the war.

Capital Assets: \$1,360,221.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$6.

Wolf Fund; Room 820, 1700 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Purpose and Activities: Information declined.

Wollman — William J. Wollman Foundation; c/o Wollman and Wollman, 25 Broad Street, New York 4, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation will not begin to function until the expiration of a trust under the Will of the deceased.

Woodlands Foundation. *See* Warburg — Felix M. and Frieda Schiff Warburg Foundation.

Woodrow Wilson Foundation. *See* Wilson — Woodrow Wilson Foundation.

Woodruff — Emily and Ernest Woodruff Foundation (1938); P.O. Box 4418, Atlanta 2, Ga.; Thomas K. Glenn, Chairman, Board of Trustees; Dameron Black, Secretary and Treasurer.

Purpose and Activities: To promote education, to establish and assist charitable hospitals, to assist orphan homes and other organizations of like character, to assist religious instruction and worship, and to promote the public welfare. According to the Foundation's present policy donations are limited to organizations located almost entirely within the state of Georgia.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Not stated.

World Peace Foundation (1910); 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston 8, Mass.; Leland M. Goodrich, Director.

Purpose and Activities: Established by Edwin Ginn to promote peace, justice, and goodwill among nations. For many years the Foundation has sought to increase public understanding of international problems by an objective presentation of the facts of international relations. This purpose is accomplished chiefly through its publications and by the maintenance of a reference service which furnishes on request information on current international problems.

Capital Assets: \$1,068,624.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$48,890.

Wyomissing Foundation, Inc. (1926); P.O. Box 1382, Reading, Pa.; Ferdinand Thun, President.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Yardley Foundation Federation Fellowship Fund (1929); 53 Washington Street, Newark 2, N.J.; Mrs. Stephen J. Francisco, President; Grace M. Freeman, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Fund was established by the New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs as a memorial to Margaret Tufts Yardley, its founder and first president. Scholarships are awarded each year to assist advanced students of marked ability, preferably young women of New Jersey, further to pursue studies and to develop their talents in creative and professional work.

Capital Assets: \$20,000.

Expenditures: \$800 for 1944-1945 scholarship fund.

Youngstown Foundation (1918); c/o The Dollar Savings and Trust Company, Youngstown, Ohio; Carl W. Ullman, Secretary.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation is a community trust, set up for charitable purposes. Its income may be used "for assisting charitable and educational institutions; for promoting education; for scientific research; for care of the sick, aged or helpless; for the care of children; for the betterment of living and working conditions; for recreation for all classes; and for such other charitable purposes as will make for the mental, moral and physical improvement of the inhabitants of the City of Youngstown, as now or hereafter constituted, regardless of race, color or creed." The Dollar Savings and Trust Company acts as trustee. The Foundation is currently active in the fields of health, education, and social welfare.

Capital Assets: \$728,513.

Expenditures: Calendar year 1944, \$32,087. Of this sum, grants constituted \$29,170.

Zeitz Foundation; c/o Fred J. Zeitz, Martin's Department Store, Fulton and Bridge Streets, Brooklyn 1, N.Y.

Purpose and Activities: No reply to requests for information.

Ziegler — Matilda Ziegler Foundation for the Blind (1928); 100 East 42d Street, New York 17, N.Y.; Walter G. Holmes, President.

Purpose and Activities: The Foundation makes possible the continuance of the Matilda Ziegler Magazine for the Blind, which was founded in 1907, and has been sent since that time, free each month, to every blind person in the United States and Canada who can read one of the systems — Braille, New York point, and Moon — in which it is printed.

Capital Assets: Not stated.

Expenditures: Approximately \$30,000 annually.

CLASSIFIED LISTINGS

THE QUESTIONNAIRE¹ sent to all foundations included a page on fields of activity. Foundation executives were asked to check any classification or subclassification to which "15 per cent or more of the year's efforts or expenditures" had been devoted. The classified lists which follow are built from these data, with a very few additions by the authors where the foundation omitted checking the classification page but supplied adequate information in other form.

The system of classification adopted after considerable study of previous classifications and of the actual activities of foundations was as follows:

1. HEALTH
 - a. Mental Hygiene
 - b. The Handicapped
2. EDUCATION
 - a. Scholarships, Fellowships, and Student Loans
3. SOCIAL WELFARE
 - a. Child Welfare
 - b. Family Welfare
 - c. Relief
4. ECONOMICS
 - a. Workers, Wages, and Conditions of Employment
5. RELIGION
6. GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
 - a. City and Regional Planning
 - b. Housing
7. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
8. RACE RELATIONS
9. RECREATION
 - a. Aesthetics
10. MISCELLANEOUS

¹ Copy reproduced in Appendix A, pp. 215-216.

The nine major classifications are not presented as an ideal, necessarily logical, or fully co-ordinate division of the broad field of human welfare; they are selected for their practical usefulness with respect to foundations as they are or have been. Similarly, the ten subclassifications simply indicate more specialized areas in which foundations are known to be interested, or concerning which special information was desired for this study. The final heading, miscellaneous, makes place for those activities which could not be entered elsewhere, and under this head foundations were asked to specify their interest.

A total of 335 foundations are classified in this chapter, 171 of these under a single elected classification, the remainder under two or more classifications. No attempt has been made to include the 141 foundations which declined to give information or failed to reply to inquiries, though these are listed with addresses in the Descriptive Directory in the preceding chapter. Twenty-nine other foundations which supplied full information in other respects were still in process of organization, or were radically changing their program. In neither case could helpful classifications be indicated, and these 29 foundations are also omitted from this section.

In the classified directory that follows, subject headings are alphabetical, and liberal cross references have been introduced. Foundations selecting a particular subclassification are not also listed under the main classification unless they so elected (e.g., a foundation specializing in relief is not necessarily listed under the broader heading, social welfare); but all main classifications include cross references to their subclassifications.

An asterisk (*) denotes that the foundation so marked has selected the classification under which it is listed as its sole major interest.

CLASSIFIED LISTINGS

Adult Education. *See* EDUCATION

Aesthetics

American Architectural Foundation*

Bache Foundation*

Bagby Music Lovers' Foundation

Buffalo Foundation

Chaloner Prize Foundation

Danks Foundation*

Griffith Music Foundation*

Guggenheim (John Simon) Memorial Foundation

Guggenheim (Solomon R.) Foundation*

Jordan Foundation

Juilliard Musical Foundation*

Langley Scholarship Fund

Long Trust*

Mann-Rosenfeld Foundation

Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust

Morris Foundation

Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute

Nelson Trust*

Presser Foundation

Santa Barbara Foundation

Saxton Memorial Trust*

Tiffany Foundation*

Watumull Foundation

See also RECREATION

Art. *See* AESTHETICS

Blind. *See* HANDICAPPED

Child Welfare

American Children's Fund*

Aron Charitable Foundation

Beloit Foundation

Bivin Foundation

Brez Foundation

Buchanan Foundation

Buffalo Foundation

Children's Fund of Michigan

Cleveland Foundation

Crabtree Fund

Dayton (Ohio) Foundation

Detroit Community Trust

Duke Endowment

Ehrmann Foundation*

Field Foundation

Gould Foundation for Children

Heckscher Foundation for Children*

Hershey Industrial School

Hofheimer Foundation

Independent Aid

Indianapolis Foundation

Jonas Foundation

Kalamazoo Foundation

Klau Foundation

Knapp Foundation (New York)

Kresge Foundation

Lancaster Community Trust

Loose (Carrie J.) Fund

Milwaukee Foundation

Minneapolis Foundation

Mullanphy Fund

Phillips Foundation

Reed Permanent Community Trust

Richardson Foundation

Riggs Foundation

Rochester Community Chest

Rosenberg Foundation

Rutledge Charity

Salem Foundation

Smith (Alexander) Memorial Foundation

Straus (Roger and Gladys) Foundation

Sullivan Foundation

Thomson (John Edgar) Foundation

Tolstoy Foundation

Travelli Fund

Turrell Fund

Waterbury Foundation

White Memorial Foundation

White (Thomas H.) Trust

White-Williams Foundation

Whitehead Foundation

Wilder Charity

Williamsport Foundation

Willson Charitable Foundation

Winter Foundation*

Youngstown Foundation

See also SOCIAL WELFARE

City and Regional Planning

American Missionary Association

Haynes Foundation

Sage Foundation

See also GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION; HOUSING

Colleges and Universities. *See* EDUCATION; SCHOLARSHIPS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND STUDENT LOANS

Community Organization. *See* SOCIAL WELFARE

Delinquency. *See* CHILD WELFARE; MENTAL HYGIENE

Diseases. *See* HEALTH

Economics

Brookings Institution

Crabtree Fund

Debs Memorial Radio Fund

Economic and Business Foundation

Falk Foundation*

Farm Foundation

Filene (Lincoln and Therese) Foundation*

Haynes Foundation

Marcus Foundation

Schalkenbach Foundation*

Sloan Foundation

Twentieth Century Fund
 Whitney (William C.) Foundation
See also WORKERS, WAGES, AND CONDITIONS
 OF EMPLOYMENT

Education

Alabama Educational Foundation*
 American Academy in Rome*
 American Bankers Association Foundation*
 American Field Service Fellowships
 American Foundation*
 American Missionary Association
 American-Scandinavian Foundation
 American Trust Fund for Oxford University*
 Aron Charitable Foundation
 Auerbach Foundation
 Baker-Hunt Foundation
 Baptist Foundation of Texas
 Barnes Foundation
 Beck Foundation*
 Belgian American Educational Foundation
 Bivin Foundation
 Board of Directors of City Trusts, Philadelphia
 Board of Education of the Methodist Church*
 Buffalo Foundation
 Buhl Foundation*
 Bulova Foundation
 Burroughs Newsboys Foundation
 California Community Foundation
 Campbell Foundation
 Carnegie Corporation of New York
 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
 Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching*
 Charleston Scientific and Cultural Educational Fund*
 Chicago Community Trust
 Child Education Foundation*
 Christian Education and Ministerial Relief, Presbyterian Church
 Church Peace Union

Clara Elizabeth Maternal Health Fund
 Cleveland Foundation
 Cornell Foundation
 Cowles Foundation*
 Crabtree Fund
 Cranbrook Foundation*
 Danforth Foundation
 Debs Memorial Radio Fund
 de Hirsch Fund
 Dodge Foundation
 Duke Endowment
 Economic and Business Foundation
 Educational Aid Fund, Massachusetts State Grange*
 El Pomar Foundation
 Elks National Foundation
 Farm Foundation
 Feild Co-operative Association
 Feldman Foundation
 Fels (Samuel S.) Fund
 Field Foundation
 Foreign Service Educational Foundation
 Forstmann Memorial Foundation*
 Franklin Foundation*
 Frick Educational Commission*
 Friendship Fund
 Future Farmers of America Foundation*
 Gannett Newspaper Foundation*
 General Education Board*
 Georgia Warm Springs Foundation
 Gibson Foundation
 Guggenheim (John Simon) Memorial Foundation
 Hall (Herbert D.) Foundation*
 Handley Board of Trustees*
 Hartford Foundation for Public Giving
 Hartley Corporation
 Harvard-Yenching Institute
 Hayden Foundation*
 Hazen Foundation
 Hershey Industrial School
 Hood Dairy Foundation
 Horowitz Foundation*
 Independent Aid
 James Foundation of New York
 Jordan Foundation

- Education (continued)
 Kellogg Foundation
 Klau Foundation
 Knapp Foundation (North Carolina)
 Kosciuszko Foundation
 Kresge Foundation
 Lake Placid Club Education Foundation*
 Lancaster Community Trust
 Levy (Shaya Chabot) Foundation
 Littauer Foundation
 Loose (Carrie J.) Fund
 Macfadden Foundation
 Mann-Rosenfeld Foundation
 Marcus Foundation
 McGregor Fund
 Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust
 Mills Foundation
 Minneapolis Foundation
 Morris Foundation
 Mott Foundation
 Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute
 Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation*
 National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship
 National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis
 New-Land Foundation
 New York Community Trust
 New York Foundation
 Norman Fund
 Northern Baptist Education Society
 Nutrition Foundation
 Payne Fund
 Pepperdine Foundation
 Phelps-Stokes Fund
 Phi Beta Kappa Foundation*
 Philadelphia Foundation
 Prentiss Foundation
 Riggs Foundation
 Rosenberg Foundation
 Rosenwald (Julius) Fund
 Rotary Educational Foundation of Atlanta*
 Roth Educational Fund*
 Russian Student Fund*
 St. Louis Public Schools Foundation
 Schmidlapp Fund
 Schurz Memorial Foundation
 Service League Foundation
 Sloan Foundation
 Southern Education Foundation
 Sullivan Foundation
 Summerfield Foundation*
 Tilles Non-Sectarian Fund*
 Travelli Fund
 Upjohn Unemployment Trustee Corporation
 Van Wert County Foundation
 Watumull Foundation
 White (Thomas H.) Trust
 White-Williams Foundation
 Whitney Benefits*
 Whitney (William C.) Foundation
 Winston-Salem Foundation*
 Youngstown Foundation
 See also SCHOLARSHIPS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND STUDENT LOANS
 Employment. See WORKERS, WAGES, AND CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT
 Family Welfare
 Aron Charitable Foundation
 Asheville Foundation
 Beloit Foundation
 Buffalo Foundation
 Carnegie Hero Fund Commission
 Chicago Community Trust
 Cleveland Foundation
 Crabtree Fund
 Gould Foundation for Children
 Grosberg Family Charity Fund
 Havens Relief Fund Society
 Hofheimer Foundation
 Kenosha Foundation*
 Klau Foundation
 Knapp Foundation (New York)
 McComas Foundation
 McGregor Fund
 Minneapolis Foundation
 Mullanphy Fund
 Phelan Foundation

Riggs Foundation
 Rochester Community Chest
 Rutledge Charity
 Sage Foundation
 Smith (Alexander) Memorial Foundation
 Straus (Roger and Gladys) Foundation
 Tolstoy Foundation
 Travelli Fund
 Waterbury Foundation
 Wheat Ridge Foundation
 White (Thomas H.) Trust
 Williamsport Foundation
See also CHILD WELFARE; RELIEF; SOCIAL WELFARE

Fellowships. *See* SCHOLARSHIPS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND STUDENT LOANS

Genetics and Eugenics. *See* HEALTH

Government and Public Administration

American Missionary Association
 Brookings Institution
 Debs Memorial Radio Fund
 Economic and Business Foundation
 Fels (Samuel S.) Fund
 Harrison Foundation*
 Haynes Foundation
 Marshall Civil Liberties Trust*
 National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship
 Philadelphia Foundation
 Richardson Foundation
 Spelman Fund of New York*
 Taylor Trust*
 Upjohn Unemployment Trustee Corporation

See also CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING; HOUSING

Group Work. *See* RECREATION; SOCIAL WELFARE

Handicapped, The

American Foundation for the Blind*
 Atlanta Foundation
 Brez Foundation

Bulova Foundation
 Capper Foundation for Crippled Children
 Cleveland Foundation
 Crabtree Fund
 Detroit Community Trust
 Elks National Foundation
 Feild Co-operative Association
 Georgia Warm Springs Foundation
 Glens Falls Foundation
 Grand Rapids Foundation
 Hofheimer Foundation
 Indianapolis Foundation
 Kalamazoo Foundation
 Klau Foundation
 McComas Foundation
 McGregor Fund
 Menninger Foundation
 Minneapolis Foundation
 National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis
 Nemours Foundation*
 New-Land Foundation
 Ophthalmological Foundation
 Rochester Community Chest
 Singer Foundation
 Travelli Fund
 Victoria Foundation
 Waterbury Foundation
 Wheat Ridge Foundation
 White Memorial Foundation
 Whitehead Foundation
 Williamsport Foundation
 Willson Charitable Foundation
 Youngstown Foundation
 Ziegler Foundation for the Blind*
See also HEALTH

Health

American Missionary Association
 Anderson Foundation*
 Asheville Foundation
 Atlanta Foundation
 Baker Charity Trust
 Ball Brothers Foundation*
 Baptist Foundation of Texas
 Bedford Fund
 Beeman Foundation*

Health (continued)

Bingham Associates Fund*
 Bivin Foundation
 Brez Foundation
 Brush Foundation*
 Buchanan Foundation
 Buffalo Foundation
 Bulova Foundation
 Burke Relief Foundation*
 Burroughs Newsboys Foundation
 California Community Foundation
 Capper Foundation for Crippled Children*
 Chicago Community Trust
 Children's Fund of Michigan
 Clara Elizabeth Maternal Health Fund
 Cleveland Foundation
 Colorado Foundation for Research in Tuberculosis*
 Columbia Foundation
 Committee of the Permanent Charity Fund
 Commonwealth Fund*
 Crabtree Fund
 Dazian Foundation for Medical Research*
 Detroit Community Trust
 Duke Endowment
 El Pomar Foundation
 Elks National Foundation
 Farm Foundation
 Feild Co-operative Association
 Fels (Samuel S.) Fund
 Finney-Howell Research Foundation*
 Flagler Foundation*
 Fuld Health Foundation*
 Fuller Fund*
 Georgia Warm Springs Foundation
 Gibson Foundation
 Glens Falls Foundation*
 Gottsche Foundation*
 Grand Rapids Foundation
 Grosberg Family Charity Fund
 Guggenheim (Murry and Leonie) Foundation*
 Hartford Foundation for Public Giving
 Hartley Corporation
 Hastings Foundation*
 Hofheimer Foundation

Hood Dairy Foundation
 Hyams Trust
 Hyde Foundation*
 Industrial Hygiene Foundation*
 International Cancer Research Foundation
 Irwin Charity Foundation
 James Foundation of New York
 Kalamazoo Foundation
 Kellogg Foundation
 Klau Foundation
 Knapp Foundation (North Carolina)
 Lancaster Community Trust
 Lasker Foundation*
 Leventritt Foundation
 Macfadden Foundation
 Macy Foundation*
 Mann-Rosenfeld Foundation
 Marcus Foundation
 Markle Foundation*
 Mason Fund Committee
 Mayo Properties Association*
 McGregor Fund
 Menninger Foundation*
 Milbank Memorial Fund
 Mills Foundation
 Minneapolis Foundation
 Morgan Foundation*
 Mott Foundation
 National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis
 National Sanitation Foundation*
 New-Land Foundation
 New York Community Trust
 New York Foundation
 Norman Fund
 Nutrition Foundation
 Ophthalmological Foundation*
 Phelan Foundation
 Philadelphia Foundation
 Pittsburgh Skin and Cancer Foundation*
 Plainfield Foundation
 Plotz Foundation*
 Prentiss Foundation
 Race Betterment Foundation*
 Reynolds Foundation*
 Rhode Island Foundation*
 Riggs Foundation

Rochester Community Chest
 Rockefeller Foundation
 Rosenberg Foundation
 Rosenstiel Foundation
 Schmidlapp Fund
 Shapiro Scholarship Fund
 Singer Foundation
 Smith (Alexander) Memorial Foundation
 Straus (Roger and Gladys) Foundation
 Thompson (Thomas) Trust
 Travelli Fund
 Trudeau Foundation*
 Victoria Foundation
 Waterbury Foundation
 White (George Robert) Fund
 White Memorial Foundation
 Whitehead Foundation
 Wilder Charity
 Williamsport Foundation
 Willson Charitable Foundation
 Youngstown Foundation
See also HANDICAPPED; MENTAL HYGIENE

Hospitals. *See* HEALTH

Housing

American Missionary Association
 Haynes Foundation
 Lavanburg Foundation*
 Phelps-Stokes Fund
 Pierce Foundation*
 Twentieth Century Fund
See also CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING;
 GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Industrial Relations. *See* WORKERS,
 WAGES, AND CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT

International Relations

American Field Service Fellowships
 American-Scandinavian Foundation
 Belgian American Educational Foundation
 Burroughs Newsboys Foundation
 Carnegie Corporation of New York
 Carnegie Endowment for International
 Peace
 Church Peace Union

Coolidge Foundation*
 Economic and Business Foundation
 Foreign Service Educational Foundation
 Friendship Fund
 Harvard-Yenching Institute
 Hazen Foundation
 Jonas Foundation
 Kosciuszko Foundation
 Littauer Foundation
 Mann-Rosenfeld Foundation
 Marcus Foundation
 Mason Fund Committee
 National Foundation for Education in
 American Citizenship
 Rockefeller Foundation
 Tolstoy Foundation
 Watumull Foundation
 Whitney (William C.) Foundation
 Wilson (Woodrow) Foundation*
 World Peace Foundation*

Labor and Industry. *See* WORKERS,
 WAGES, AND CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT

Law. *See* GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Medicine. *See* HEALTH

Mental Hygiene

Becker Trust*
 Beeman Foundation
 Bivin Foundation
 Brez Foundation
 Brush Foundation
 Buffalo Foundation
 Children's Fund of Michigan
 Columbia Foundation
 Commonwealth Fund
 Gould Foundation for Children
 Hofheimer Foundation
 Kalamazoo Foundation
 Lancaster Community Trust
 Lasker Foundation
 Leventritt Foundation
 Lifwynn Foundation*
 Macy Foundation

Mental Hygiene (continued)

Menninger Foundation

Minneapolis Foundation

Riggs Foundation

Rochester Community Chest

Rockefeller Foundation

Travelli Fund

Waterbury Foundation

White Psychiatric Foundation*

See also HEALTH**Miscellaneous**

Barnes Foundation (Horticulture, arboriculture)

Carnegie Institution of Washington* (Fundamental research, primarily physical and biological)

Carver Foundation (Agricultural and industrial research)

Field Foundation (Scientific public opinion polling)

Hayes Foundation* (Historical research)

Latham Foundation for the Promotion of Humane Education* (Animal welfare)

Love Conservation Foundation* (Conservation of wild life)

Milbank Memorial Fund (Population)

National Farm Youth Foundation* (Farm management)

Pack Forestry Foundation* (Forestry)

Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems* (Population)

Viking Fund* (Anthropology)

Municipal Affairs. *See* CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING; GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**Music.** *See* AESTHETICS**Negroes.** *See* RACE RELATIONS**Nursing.** *See* HEALTH**Peace.** *See* INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**Pedagogy.** *See* EDUCATION**Psychiatry.** *See* MENTAL HYGIENE**Public Administration.** *See* GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**Public Health.** *See* HEALTH**Race Relations**

American Missionary Association

Barnes Foundation

Burroughs Newsboys Foundation

Church Peace Union

Columbia Foundation

Debs Memorial Radio Fund

de Hirsch Fund

Field Foundation

Gould Foundation for Children

Harmon Foundation

Hartford Foundation for Public Giving

Haynes Foundation

Klau Foundation

Littauer Foundation

Mann-Rosenfeld Foundation

Marcus Foundation

Mason Fund Committee

New-Land Foundation

Payne Fund

Phelps-Stokes Fund

Rosenwald (Julius) Fund

Southern Education Foundation

Straus (Roger and Gladys) Foundation

Waterbury Foundation

Watumull Foundation

Whitney (William C.) Foundation

Recreation

Aron Charitable Foundation

Buffalo Foundation

Burroughs Newsboys Foundation

California Community Foundation

Chicago Community Trust

Children's Fund of Michigan

Cleveland Foundation

Committee of the Permanent Charity Fund

Detroit Community Trust

Durham Foundation*

Harmon Foundation

Hartford Foundation for Public Giving

Indianapolis Foundation

Kalamazoo Foundation
 Kellogg Foundation
 Mann-Rosenfeld Foundation
 Marcus Foundation
 Minneapolis Foundation
 Mott Foundation
 New Haven Foundation
 Philadelphia Foundation
 Richardson Foundation
 Rochester Community Chest
 Schurz Memorial Foundation
 Service League Foundation
 Smith (Alexander) Memorial Foundation
 Van Wert County Foundation
 White (George Robert) Fund
 White Memorial Foundation
 Willson Charitable Foundation
See also AESTHETICS

Relief

Auerbach Foundation
 Bagby Music Lovers' Foundation
 Baird Foundation*
 Beloit Foundation
 Brez Foundation
 Chicago Community Trust
 Cleveland Foundation
 Cornell Foundation
 Crabtree Fund
 Feild Co-operative Association
 Foster Foundation*
 Friendship Fund
 Fur Trade Foundation
 Havens Relief Fund Society
 Hellmann Foundation
 Hofheimer Foundation
 Jarvie Commonweal Service*
 Klau Foundation
 Knapp Foundation (New York)
 Lancaster Community Trust
 McComas Foundation
 McGregor Fund
 Minneapolis Foundation
 Mullanphy Fund
 Pilgrim Foundation*
 Presser Foundation

Roche Relief Foundation
 Rochester Community Chest
 Rutledge Charity
 Sage Foundation
 St. Louis Public Schools Foundation
 Santa Barbara Foundation
 Schimper Foundation*
 Singer Foundation
 Smith (Alexander) Memorial Foundation
 Straus (Roger and Gladys) Foundation
 Tolstoy Foundation
 Travelli Fund
 White (Thomas H.) Trust
 Wilder Charity
 Williamsport Foundation
See FAMILY WELFARE; SOCIAL WELFARE

Religion

Allen (Vivian B.) Foundation
 American Missionary Association
 Baker-Hunt Foundation
 Baptist Foundation of Texas
 Bernstein Foundation*
 Board of Christian Education, United Brethren*
 California Community Foundation
 Campbell Foundation
 Christian Education and Ministerial Relief, Presbyterian Church
 Church Peace Union
 Danforth Foundation
 Dayton (Minn.) Foundation
 Duke Endowment
 El Pomar Foundation
 Farm Foundation
 Gould Foundation for Children
 Hazen Foundation
 Hellmann Foundation
 James Foundation of New York
 Klau Foundation
 Kresge Foundation
 LeTourneau Foundation*
 Levy (Shaya Chabot) Foundation
 Macfadden Foundation
 Mann-Rosenfeld Foundation
 Marcus Foundation

Religion (continued)

Matz Foundation*
 Mott Foundation
 Northern Baptist Education Society
 Penney Foundation*
 Pepperdine Foundation
 Phelps-Stokes Fund
 Philadelphia Foundation
 Schurz Memorial Foundation
 Straus (Roger and Gladys) Foundation
 Swedenborg Foundation*
 Wheat Ridge Foundation

**Sanitation and Public Health. *See*
HEALTH****Scholarships, Fellowships, and Student Loans**

American Academy in Rome
 American Association of University Women*
 American Bankers Association Foundation
 American Field Service Fellowships
 Atlanta Foundation
 Bivin Foundation
 Board of Education of the Methodist Church
 Buffalo Foundation
 Carver Foundation
 Chaloner Prize Foundation
 Child Education Foundation
 Cleveland Foundation
 Crabtree Fund
 Danforth Foundation
 Diffenbaugh Fund for Deserving Students*
 Economic and Business Foundation
 Educational Aid Fund, Massachusetts State Grange
 Elks National Foundation
 Farm Foundation
 Feild Co-operative Association
 Frick Educational Commission
 Friendship Fund
 Gibson Foundation
 Gould Foundation for Children
 Guggenheim (John Simon) Memorial Foundation

Harmon Foundation
 Harvard-Yenching Institute
 Hood Dairy Foundation
 Indianapolis Foundation
 International Cancer Research Foundation
 Knights Templar Educational Foundation*
 Lancaster Community Trust
 Langley Scholarship Fund
 Mann-Rosenfeld Foundation
 Massachusetts Society for the University Education of Women*
 Minneapolis Foundation
 Morris Foundation
 New-Land Foundation
 Northern Baptist Education Society
 Noyes Scholarship Fund*
 Phillips Foundation
 Pickett and Hatcher Educational Fund*
 Prentiss Foundation
 Presser Foundation
 Riggs Foundation
 Rosenwald (Julius) Fund
 Rotary Educational Foundation of Atlanta
 Rotch Travelling Scholarship*
 Roth Educational Fund
 Russian Student Fund
 St. Louis Public Schools Foundation
 Santa Barbara Foundation
 Schepp Foundation*
 Schmidlapp Fund
 Schurz Memorial Foundation
 Selling Scholarship Loan Fund*
 Shapiro Scholarship Fund
 Smith (Horace) Fund*
 Strong (Hattie M.) Foundation*
 Strong (Henry) Educational Foundation*
 Tilles Non-Sectarian Fund
 Travelli Fund
 Watertown Foundation
 White (Thomas H.) Trust
 White-Williams Foundation
 Whiteside Templar Memorial Fund*
 Whitney Benefits
 Yardley Foundation Federation Fellowship Fund*

Youngstown Foundation

See also EDUCATION

Schools. *See EDUCATION*

Social Welfare

Allen (Vivian B.) Foundation

American Missionary Association

Auerbach Foundation

Baker Charity Trust

Baptist Foundation of Texas

Bedford Fund

Beloit Foundation*

Bivin Foundation

Board of Directors of City Trusts, Philadelphia

Brez Foundation

Buffalo Foundation

Burroughs Newsboys Foundation

Byram Foundation*

California Community Foundation

Cambridge Foundation*

Carnegie Hero Fund Commission*

Champaign Civic Foundation*

Chicago Community Trust

Cleveland Foundation

Columbia Foundation

Committee of the Permanent Charity Fund

Cornell Foundation

Crabtree Fund

Dayton (Minn.) Foundation

Dayton (Ohio) Foundation*

Debs Memorial Radio Fund

Detroit Community Trust

Dodge Foundation

Duluth Community Trust*

Economic and Business Foundation

Feild Co-operative Association

Feldman Foundation

Fels (Samuel S.) Fund

Field Foundation

Friendship Fund

Fur Trade Foundation*

Gould Foundation for Children

Grand Rapids Foundation

Grant Foundation*

Guggenheim (Daniel and Florence) Foundation*

Hartford Foundation for Public Giving

Hartley Corporation

Havens Relief Fund Society*

Hawaiian Foundation*

Hawley Welfare Foundation*

Heinz Endowment*

Hofheimer Foundation

Hyams Trust

Irwin Charity Foundation

Ittleson Family Foundation*

James Foundation of New York

Jonas Foundation

Kalamazoo Foundation

Kellogg Foundation

Klau Foundation

Knapp Foundation (New York)*

Knapp Foundation (North Carolina)

Kresge Foundation

Lancaster Community Trust

Leventritt Foundation

Levy (Shaya Chabot) Foundation

Littauer Foundation

Loose (Carrie J.) Fund

Loose Million Dollar Charity Fund*

Madison Community Trust Fund*

Mann-Rosenfeld Foundation

Marcus Foundation

Mason Fund Committee

McGregor Fund

Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust

Mertz Foundation*

Milwaukee Foundation*

Minneapolis Foundation

Moseley Foundation*

Mott Foundation

Mullanphy Fund*

New Haven Foundation

New York Community Trust

New York Foundation

Norman Fund

Pepperdine Foundation

Philadelphia Foundation

Plainfield Foundation

Social Welfare (continued)

Ratshesky Foundation*
 Reed Permanent Community Trust*
 Riggs Foundation
 Roche Relief Foundation*
 Rochester Community Chest
 Rockefeller Brothers Fund*
 Rockefeller Foundation
 Rosenau Foundation*
 Rosenberg Foundation
 Rosenstiel Foundation
 Rutledge Charity*
 Sage Foundation
 St. Louis Public Schools Foundation
 Salem Foundation*
 Service League Foundation
 Singer Foundation
 Smith (Alexander) Memorial Foundation
 Spokane Foundation*
 Straus (Roger and Gladys) Foundation
 Thompson (Thomas) Trust
 Thomson (John Edgar) Foundation*
 Tolstoy Foundation
 Travelli Fund
 Turrell Fund*
 Victoria Foundation
 Warburg Foundation*
 Watertown Foundation
 Wheat Ridge Foundation
 White Memorial Foundation

AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS

White (Thomas H.) Trust
 Whitehead Foundation
 Whitney (William C.) Foundation
 Wieboldt Foundation*
 Wilder Charity
 Williamsport Foundation
 Youngstown Foundation
See also CHILD WELFARE; FAMILY WELFARE; RELIEF

Social Work. *See* SOCIAL WELFARE; CHILD WELFARE; FAMILY WELFARE; RELIEF

Student Loans. *See* SCHOLARSHIPS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND STUDENT LOANS

Workers, Wages, and Conditions of Employment

Altman Foundation*
 Crabtree Fund
 Economic and Business Foundation
 Gould Foundation for Children
 Harbison-Walker Foundation*
 Rosenberg Foundation
 Service League Foundation
 Twentieth Century Fund
 Upjohn Unemployment Trustee Corporation
See also ECONOMICS

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

AN ANALYSIS of the Descriptive Directory, listing 505 foundations, supports earlier studies with respect to the high geographical concentration of organizations of this type. Seventy-nine per cent of these foundations, 398 in all, are in the narrow quadrangle north of the Mason-Dixon Line and east of the Mississippi River. Indeed, 236 (47 per cent of the total) are in New York State, and 217 (43 per cent) in New York City. Boston is a remote second among cities, with 22 foundations, or 4 per cent.

In comparisons with earlier studies, minor variations are probably not significant because of some differences in definition and coverage. It may, however, be noted that New York City has consistently accounted for between 40 and 44 per cent of American foundations in five earlier studies, by the Twentieth Century Fund for 1930, 1931, and 1934, and by Raymond Rich Associates for 1937 and 1940.

Even more significant than concentration by number is the concentration of known assets. Unfortunately only about half the foundations included in this study have furnished figures on capital assets for publication, but most of those declining information are small and would not greatly affect totals.

As Table 14 indicates, New York City accounts for 51 per cent of the total reported capital assets. Dearborn, with its single foundation, comes second with 8 per cent. The concentration of assets in New York City was even greater according to earlier studies, standing at 80 per cent in the report for 1931 prepared by the Twentieth Century Fund.

It should be pointed out, however, that this high concentration of both offices and assets in and about New York City, and several other large cities, does not imply that all or most of this wealth is devoted to local welfare projects. This is true in only a limited number of foundations, usually community trusts, and even several of these distribute a portion of their expenditures on projects of national or even wider scope. Most of the large general foundations make grants and support activities throughout the United States, and some of them internationally.

TABLE 14. DISTRIBUTION BY STATES AND CITIES OF CAPITAL ASSETS OF
250 FOUNDATIONS REPORTING THIS ITEM IN 1944

(Dollar figures in thousands)

State and city	Number of foundations listed	Number reporting assets	Reported capital assets	
			Amount	Per cent of total
<i>New York</i>	236	91	\$735,029	52
New York City	217	79	714,757	51
White Plains	1	1	5,500	*
Other	18	11	14,772	1
<i>Michigan</i>	18	12	228,081	16
Dearborn	1	1	109,000	8
Detroit	7	4	63,457	5
Battle Creek	2	2	47,443	3
Bloomfield Hills	1	1	6,658	*
Other	7	4	1,523	*
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	35	18	128,086	9
Philadelphia	14	7	96,426	7
Pittsburgh	12	7	30,656	2
Other	9	4	1,004	*
<i>District of Columbia</i>	14	6	56,139	4
Washington	14	6	56,139	4
<i>Massachusetts</i>	31	24	35,961	3
Boston	22	19	34,072	2
Other	9	5	1,889	*
<i>Minnesota</i>	7	4	33,332	2
Rochester	1	1	28,300	2
Other	6	3	5,032	*
<i>Illinois</i>	12	7	29,942	2
Chicago	9	5	18,543	1
Peoria	1	1	11,393	1
Other	2	1	6	*
<i>Texas</i>	3	3	29,787	2
Houston	1	1	17,587	1
Dallas	1	1	10,000	1
Other	1	1	2,200	*
<i>Missouri</i>	12	7	17,368	1
Kansas City	5	3	14,889	1
Other	7	4	2,479	*
<i>Ohio</i>	19	11	15,688	1
Cleveland	6	3	10,760	1
Other	13	8	4,928	*
<i>Georgia</i>	8	6	14,742	1
Atlanta	7	5	12,428	1
Other	1	1	2,314	*

<i>Colorado</i>	9	3	14,641	1
Colorado Springs	2	2	14,591	1
Other	7	1	50	*
<i>California</i>	14	9	11,256	1
<i>North Carolina</i>	5	5	11,167	1
Winston-Salem	2	2	10,773	1
Other	3	3	394	*
<i>Indiana</i>	7	3	9,551	1
Indianapolis	5	3	9,551	1
Other	2	—	—	—
<i>Connecticut</i>	14	9	6,839	*
<i>New Jersey</i>	11	5	5,444	*
<i>Tennessee</i>	1	1	5,106	*
Nashville	1	1	5,106	*
<i>Alabama</i>	2	2	3,585	*
<i>Wisconsin</i>	7	6	2,273	*
<i>Wyoming</i>	2	2	1,783	*
<i>Mississippi</i>	1	1	1,527	*
<i>Virginia</i>	2	1	1,122	*
<i>West Virginia</i>	1	1	949	*
<i>Rhode Island</i>	1	1	909	*
<i>Kentucky</i>	4	2	817	*
<i>Oregon</i>	5	3	655	*
<i>Kansas</i>	2	2	192	*
<i>Maryland</i>	2	1	187	*
<i>Oklahoma</i>	3	1	114	*
<i>South Carolina</i>	3	1	100	*
<i>Hawaii</i>	2	1	100	*
<i>Washington</i>	1	1	23	*
<i>Delaware</i>	6	—	—	—
<i>Iowa</i>	2	—	—	—
<i>Louisiana</i>	1	—	—	—
<i>Florida</i>	1	—	—	—
<i>Nebraska</i>	1	—	—	—
Total	505	250	\$1,402,495	100

* Less than 0.5 per cent.

NOTE: States are listed in order of reported capital assets. Only cities for which total reported assets amount to at least \$5,000,000 are listed separately.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DIRECTORY OF 505 FOUNDATIONS

Alabama*Birmingham*

Alabama Educational Foundation

Tuskegee Institute

Carver Foundation

California*Los Angeles*

All Nations Foundation

California Community Foundation

Foundation for Scientific Research

Haynes Foundation

Pepperdine Foundation

Watumull Foundation

Oakland

Latham Foundation

Pasadena

Hastings Foundation

San Francisco

Columbia Foundation

Howard Foundation

Irwin Charity Foundation

Phelan Foundation

Rosenberg Foundation

Santa Barbara

Santa Barbara Foundation

Colorado*Colorado Springs*

Colorado Foundation

El Pomar Foundation

Denver

Boettcher Foundation

Bonfils Foundation

Denver Foundation

Humphreys Foundation

Hunter Charitable Trust

Winter Foundation

Wheat Ridge

Wheat Ridge Foundation

Connecticut*Bridgeport*

Bedford (May Esther) Fund

Lamport (Sadie and Arthur) Foundation

Greens Farms

Bedford Fund, Inc.

Greenwich

Noble Foundation

Price Foundation

Haddam

Hazen Foundation

Hartford

Auerbach Foundation

Hartford Foundation for Public Giving

Litchfield

White Memorial Foundation

New Haven

Fuller Fund

New Haven Foundation

Norfolk

Hartley Corporation

Waterbury

Waterbury Foundation

Westport

Lifwynn Foundation

Delaware*Wilmington*

Delaware School Foundation

Dietrich Foundation

Kent Foundation

Nileb Foundation

Raskob Foundation

Trebor Foundation

District of Columbia*Washington*

American Architectural Foundation

American Association of University

Women, Fellowship Fund

Brookings Institution

Carnegie Endowment for International
Peace

Carnegie Institution

Foreign Service Educational Foundation

Future Farmers of America Foundation

Langley Scholarship Fund
Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust
Pack Forestry Foundation
Southern Education Foundation
Strong (Hattie M.) Foundation
Washington Foundation
White Psychiatric Foundation

Florida

Jacksonville
Nemours Foundation

Georgia

Atlanta
Atlanta Foundation
Beck Foundation
Campbell Foundation
Rotary Educational Foundation
Whitehead Foundation
Whiteside Templar Memorial Fund
Woodruff Foundation

Columbus

Pickett and Hatcher Education Fund

Hawaii

Honolulu
Atherton Trust
Hawaiian Foundation

Illinois

Champaign
Champaign Civic Foundation

Chicago

Abbott Foundation
Chicago Community Trust
Farin Foundation
Mundelein Foundation
Murphy Foundation
Noyes Scholarship Fund
Rosenwald (Julius) Fund
Strong (Henry) Educational Foundation
Wieboldt Foundation

Freeport

Rawleigh Foundation

Peoria

LeTourneau Foundation

Indiana

Indianapolis
Christian Foundation
Indianapolis Foundation
Jordan Foundation
Knights Templar Educational Foundation
National Foundation for Education in
American Citizenship

Muncie

Ball Brothers Foundation
Ball (George and Frances) Foundation

Iowa

Des Moines
Cowles Foundation
Hawley Welfare Foundation

Kansas

Topeka
Capper Foundation
Menninger Foundation

Kentucky

Covington
Baker-Hunt Foundation
Frankfort
Robinson Mountain Fund

Louisville

Christian Education and Ministerial Relief,
Presbyterian Church
Louisville Foundation

Louisiana

New Orleans
Schlieder Foundation

Maryland

Baltimore
Blaustein Foundation
Finney-Howell Research Foundation

Massachusetts

Boston

Bingham Associates Fund
Burroughs Newsboys Foundation
Committee of the Permanent Charity Fund

Massachusetts*Boston* (continued)

Crabtree Fund
 Elks National Foundation
 Filene Good Will Fund
 Filene (Lincoln and Therese) Foundation
 Franklin Foundation
 Grosberg Family Charity Fund
 Hood Dairy Foundation
 Hyams Trust
 Mason Fund Committee
 Massachusetts Society for the University
 Education of Women
 Moseley Foundation
 Northern Baptist Education Society
 Powers Foundation
 Ratschesky Foundation
 Rotch Travelling Scholarship
 Thompson Trust
 Travelli Fund
 White (George Robert) Fund
 World Peace Foundation

Brockton

Pilgrim Foundation

Cambridge

Cambridge Foundation
 Harvard-Yenching Institute

Springfield

Service League Foundation
 Smith (Horace) Fund

Stockbridge

Riggs Foundation

West Springfield

Moses (Horace A.) Foundation

Winchester

Educational Aid Fund, Massachusetts State
 Grange

Worcester

Alden Trust

Michigan*Ann Arbor*

National Sanitation Foundation

Battle Creek

Kellogg Foundation
 Race Betterment Foundation

Bloomfield Hills

Cranbrook Foundation

Dearborn

Ford Foundation

Detroit

Children's Fund of Michigan
 Detroit Community Trust
 Earhart Foundation
 Kresge Foundation
 McGregor Fund
 Mendelson Trusts
 National Farm Youth Foundation

Flint

Clara Elizabeth Maternal Health Fund
 Mott Foundation

Grand Rapids

Grand Rapids Foundation

Kalamazoo

Kalamazoo Foundation
 Upjohn Unemployment Trustee Corporation

Manistee

Ruggles Endowment

Minnesota*Duluth*

Duluth Community Trust

Minneapolis

Dayton Foundation
 Minneapolis Foundation
 Nash Foundation

Rochester

Mayo Properties Association

St. Paul

Blandin Foundation
 Wilder Charity

Mississippi*Jackson*

Feild Co-operative Association

Missouri

Columbia

Love Conservation Foundation

Kansas City

Diffenbaugh Fund for Deserving Students

Loose (Carrie J.) Fund

Loose Million Dollar Charity Fund

Nelson Trust

Volker Charities Fund

St. Louis

Danforth Foundation

Mullanphy Fund

Pillsbury Foundation

St. Louis Public Schools Foundation

Tilles Non-Sectarian Charity Fund

Wohl Foundation

Nebraska

Lincoln

Cooper Foundation

New Jersey

East Orange

Turrell Fund

Jersey City

Fuld Health Foundation

Victoria Foundation

Madison

Foundation for Narcotics Research

Newark

Griffith Music Foundation

Hall (Herbert D.) Foundation

Yardley Foundation Federation Fellowship Fund

Passaic

Forstmann Memorial Foundation

Plainfield

Plainfield Foundation

Upper Montclair

Mills Foundation

Weehawken

Blickman Foundation

New York

Auburn

Emerson Foundation

Buffalo

Buffalo Foundation

Conners Foundation

Glens Falls

Glens Falls Foundation

Hartsdale

Gaisman Foundation

Lake Placid Club

Lake Placid Club Education Foundation

New York City

A and L Foundation

Achelis Foundation

Allen (Vivian B.) Foundation

Altman Foundation

American Academy in Rome

American Bankers Association Foundation

American Children's Fund

American Field Service Fellowships

American Foundation for the Blind

American Missionary Association

American-Scandinavian Foundation

American Trust Fund for Oxford University

Ansl Charity Foundation

Arnstein Foundation

Aron Charitable Foundation

Ascoli Fund

Auguste Foundation

Bache Foundation

Bagby Music Lovers' Foundation

Baird Foundation

Baker Charity Trust

Belgian American Educational Foundation

Bernstein Foundation

Bing Fund

Bliss Memorial Fund

Borden Memorial Foundation

Brez Foundation

Browning Foundation

Bulova Foundation

Carnegie Corporation of New York

New York City (continued)

Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement
of Teaching

Chaloner Prize Foundation

Charities Foundation

Child Education Foundation

Church Peace Union

Clark Foundation

Clemens Fund

Coe Foundation

Cohen and Sons Foundation

Commonwealth Fund

Coolidge Foundation

Cornell Foundation

Culpeper Foundation

Danks Foundation

Danziger Trust

Dazian Foundation for Medical Research

Debs Memorial Radio Fund

de Hirsch Fund

Dillon Fund

Dodge Foundation

Duke Endowment

Dula Foundation

Ehrmann Foundation

Eisner and Lubin Foundation

Emigre Charitable Fund

Esco Fund Committee

Feldman Foundation

Fels (Joseph) Foundation

Field Foundation

Fischel Foundation

Flagler Foundation

Friendship Fund

Fur Trade Foundation

General Education Board

General Welfare Fund

Georgia Warm Springs Foundation

Golden Fund

Golding Foundation

Goodman (Abraham and Mollic) Founda-
tion

Goodman (Jacob and Libby) Foundation

Gottesman (D. S. and R. H.) Foundation

Gottesman Tree of Life Foundation

Gould Foundation

Grant Foundation

Granthale Foundation

Guggenheim (Daniel and Florence) Founda-
tion

Guggenheim (Henry Frank) Foundation

Guggenheim (John Simon) Foundation

Guggenheim (Murry and Leonie) Founda-
tion

Guggenheim (Solomon R.) Foundation

Gumpert-Janover Foundation

Haas Memorial Fund

Haft (Harry G. and Tillie W.) Founda-
tion

Haft (Jules G. and Ruth) Foundation

Haft (Morris and Fannie B.) Foundation

Hall (Martha M.) Foundation

Hanauer Fund

Harmon Foundation

Harriman Trust

Hartford (John A.) Foundation

Havens Relief Fund Society

Hayden Foundation

Heckscher Foundation

Hofheimer Foundation

Holmes Foundation

Horowitz Foundation

Hutchins Foundation

Hyde Foundation

Independent Aid

Intercultural Foundation

Ittleson Family Foundation

James Foundation

Jarvie Commonweal Service

Juilliard Musical Foundation

Karagheusian Commemorative Corpora-
tion

Kaufmann Foundation

Klau Foundation

Knapp Foundation (New York)

Knapp Foundation (N. C.)

Knapp Fund

Kosciuszko Foundation

Kress Foundation

Lampport (Samuel C. and Miriam D.)
Foundation

La Prensa Charity Fund
 Larsen Fund
 Lasker Foundation
 Lavanburg Foundation
 Leventritt Foundation
 Levy (Adele R.) Fund
 Levy (Shaya Chabot) Foundation
 Lindemann Foundation
 Littauer Foundation
 Loeb Foundation
 Long Trust
 Lorberbaum Foundation
 Lowenstein Foundation
 Luce Foundation
 Macfadden Foundation
 Macy Foundation
 Maguire Foundation
 Marcus Foundation
 Markle Foundation
 Marshall Civil Liberties Trust
 Marshall Foundation
 Marshall Wilderness Fund
 Matz Foundation
 McConnell Foundation
 Mertz Foundation
 Milbank (Dunlevy) Foundation
 Milbank Memorial Fund
 Morgan Foundation
 Morris Foundation
 Moses (Henry and Lucy) Fund
 Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation
 Musicians' Foundation
 National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis
 National Foundation of Musical Therapy
 New-Land Foundation
 New York Community Trust
 New York Foundation
 Nichols Foundation
 Norman Fund
 Nutrition Foundation
 Ohrbach Foundation
 Ophthalmological Foundation
 Palestine Foundation
 Paley Foundation
 Payne Fund

Penney Foundation
 Pforzheimer Foundation
 Phelps-Stokes Fund
 Phi Beta Kappa Foundation
 Pierce Foundation
 Pines Foundation
 Plotz Foundation
 Propp Foundation
 Relief and Research Fund
 Roche Relief Foundation
 Rockefeller Brothers Fund
 Rockefeller Foundation
 Rosenstiel Foundation
 Russian Student Fund
 Sage Foundation
 Saxton Memorial Trust
 Schalkenbach Foundation
 Schepp Foundation
 Schimper Foundation
 Schwab Foundation
 Schwartz Memorial Fund
 Schwarzhaupt Foundation
 Shapiro Scholarship Fund
 Singer Foundation
 Sloan Foundation
 Smith Educational Foundation
 Snyder Fund
 Spelman Fund
 Sprague Foundation
 Stavisky Family Foundation
 Stettenheim Foundation
 Straus Foundation
 Strauss Memorial Fund
 Suarez Foundation
 Sullivan Foundation
 Sumatra-Java Foundation
 Summerfield Foundation
 Surdna Foundation
 Swedenborg Foundation
 Switzer Foundation
 Talcott Fund
 Teagle Foundation
 Tiffany Foundation
 Tolstoy Foundation
 Tucker Foundation
 Twentieth Century Fund

New York City (continued)

Unger Memorial Foundation

Viking Fund

Warburg Foundation

Weber Foundation

Whitehall Foundation

Whiting Foundation

Whitney Foundation

Willkie Trust Fund

Wilson Foundation

Winfield Foundation

Wollman Foundation

ZeitZ Foundation

Ziegler Foundation

Niagara Falls

Beeman Foundation

Pleasantville

Byram Foundation

Manville Foundation

Rochester

Gannett Newspaper Foundation

Rochester Community Chest

Saranac Lake

Trudeau Foundation

Scarsdale

Hellmann Foundation

Scarsdale Foundation

Utica

Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute

Walden

Jonas Foundation

Watertown

Watertown Foundation

White Plains

Burke Relief Foundation

Yonkers

Smith Memorial Foundation

North Carolina*Asheville*

Asheville Foundation

Durham

Durham Foundation

Greensboro

Richardson Foundation

Winston-Salem

Reynolds Foundation

Winston-Salem Foundation

Ohio*Canton*

Timken Foundation

Cincinnati

Emery Memorial

Fleischmann Endowment

Schmidlapp Fund

Cleveland

Beaumont Trust

Bivin Foundation

Brush Foundation

Cleveland Foundation

Prentiss Foundation

White Charitable Trust

Columbus

Columbus Foundation

Willson Charitable Foundation

Dayton

Board of Christian Education, United Brethren

Dayton Foundation

Elyria

Allen (Edgar F.) Foundation

Fremont

Hayes Foundation

Oxford

Scripps Foundation

Van Wert

Van Wert County Foundation

Youngstown

Youngstown Foundation

Oklahoma*Barilesville*

Phillips Foundation

Ponca City

Wentz Foundation

Tulsa

Reed Permanent Community Trust

Oregon

Lakeview

Daly Educational Fund

Portland

Crawford Student Loan Fund

McComas Foundation

Selling Scholarship Fund

Salem

Salem Foundation

Pennsylvania

Haverford

Taylor Trust

Hershey

Hershey Industrial School

Jenkintown

Rosenwald (Lessing J.) Foundation

Lancaster

Lancaster Community Trust

Merion

Barnes Foundation

New Wilmington

Economic and Business Foundation

Philadelphia

American Foundation

Board of Directors of City Trusts

Fels (Samuel S.) Fund

Gimbel Foundation

Harrison Foundation

International Cancer Research Foundation

Mann-Rosenfeld Foundation

Philadelphia Foundation

Presser Foundation

Rosenau Foundation

Schurz Memorial Foundation

Thomson Foundation

White-Williams Foundation

Wolf Fund

Pittsburgh

Arbuckle-Jamison Foundation

Buhl Foundation

Carnegie Hero Fund

Falk Foundation

Frick Educational Commission

George Foundation

Gibson Foundation

Harbison-Walker Foundation

Heinz Endowment

Industrial Hygiene Foundation

Pittsburgh Skin and Cancer Foundation

Roth Educational Fund

Reading

Janssen Foundation

Wyomissing Foundation

Williamsport

Williamsport Foundation

Rhode Island

Providence

Rhode Island Foundation

South Carolina

Charleston

Charleston Scientific and Cultural Educational Fund

Greenville

Burgiss Charities

Spartanburg

Spartanburg Community Foundation

Tennessee

Nashville

Board of Education, Methodist Church

Texas

Dallas

Baptist Foundation

Houston

Anderson Foundation

Texarkana

Buchanan Foundation

Virginia

Richmond

Richmond Foundation

Winchester

Handley Board of Trustees

Washington*Spokane*

Spokane Foundation

West Virginia*Huntington*

Foster Foundation

Wisconsin*Beloit*

Beloit Foundation

Chippewa Falls

Rutledge Charity

Kenosha

Kenosha Foundation

Madison

Madison Community Trust Fund

Milwaukee

Becker Trust

Harnischfeger Foundation

Milwaukee Foundation

Wyoming*Rock Springs*

Gottsche Foundation

Sheridan

Whitney Benefits

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

METHOD OF THE STUDY

Purposes. The initial purpose of this study was continuance of a series of bulletins and directories on foundations in social welfare which the Russell Sage Foundation had commenced in 1915, first in the form of bibliographical material, then as ever-expanding descriptive directories. The latest of these had appeared in 1938, and was seriously out of date.

It was realized that in the mere gathering of material for a new directory much data of general value would be accumulated which might throw light on trends in foundation growth and policies and the opportunities which would face foundations at the war's end. The project was therefore enlarged with these broader purposes in mind, and a book was planned which, it was hoped, would be of value to foundation executives and boards, to students of this relatively new instrument of philanthropy, and would be informing to the general public and to persons seeking foundation aid.

Lists. The Descriptive Directory including 505 foundations is the most complete which has thus far been published, although no illusions are entertained that all appropriate foundations have been discovered, or that all foundations now included merit their place. A master list was first compiled, based on the Russell Sage Foundation's previous directories and extensive files of reports, correspondence, and clippings; on the documentation of the Lindeman foundation study, now housed in the Russell Sage Foundation Library; on comparisons of these lists with those of the Department of Philanthropic Information, Central Hanover Bank and Trust Company; the Carnegie Corporation; directories previously published by Raymond Rich Associates and the Twentieth Century Fund; the New York Community Trust; mailing lists of fund-collecting agencies such as John Price Jones and Tamblyn and Brown; and miscellaneous smaller lists volunteered from various sources.

Some five thousand presumptive foundations were thus discovered. Many of these were obviously outside the field of this study. Our eager informants had even included two companies manufacturing a type of

women's garment and one construction company, all dealing indeed with "foundations," but of types beyond our present concern. We also eliminated in the first screening all foundations known to be defunct, those with capital assets below \$50,000 (a few exceptions were made where the size of present grants or evident future growth made inclusion seem desirable), foundations outside the field of social welfare broadly defined, foreign foundations, and the very numerous college and ecclesiastical organizations often called foundations which do not function independently but only as specific endowments within a parent organization. For the remainder, a master card file was set up, including address and other pertinent information. This first master file included 908 names.

After closer scrutiny, 97 of these cards were placed in the inactive file. The remaining 811 foundations were mailed the questionnaire appearing on the opposite page, with an explanatory letter, most of these going forward on January 10, 1945. As a result of this mailing and later check-up mailings, 56 foundations with bad addresses were eliminated, and presumed defunct.

On February 15 a second letter was sent to the 385 foundations in the first list which had not yet replied, accompanied by a card requesting date when the reply might be expected. A heavy correspondence on specific problems was concurrently conducted by both authors and by Margaret B. Hodges, who undertook special responsibility for the directory section. Personal visits were made to a number of foundation offices to clear up points of special difficulty and to effect a random sampling of reasons for non-reply.

Finally, on April 16, a third request was sent to those from which no reply had been received, this time under registered mail so that we might be certain of its receiving attention, and have a record of its receipt. By the time it was necessary to close the lists and go to press, the record stood as follows:

Original mailing, with additions		811
Eliminated		
For bad address	56	
As ineligible	250	306
Included in Descriptive Directory		
With information	364	
Information declined	49	
No reply to requests	92	505

FOUNDATION QUESTIONNAIRE

INCORPORATED NAME _____

ADDRESS (Include postal district number) _____

Incorporated in the State of _____

PRESIDENT, DIRECTOR, OR OTHER PRINCIPAL OFFICER _____

SECRETARY _____

Founded _____ by _____
MONTH DAY YEAR DONOR

Purposes (State in words of donor or charter where appropriate, and where this purpose is broad, add a statement of present emphases.)

Total capital assets \$ _____
MARKET VALUE
BOOK VALUE as of _____
DATE

Expenditures \$ _____ for calendar year 1944,

or for fiscal year ending _____ 1944.

Of this total, \$ _____
GRANTS

Important war-induced changes in our program included the following:

Foundation Questionnaire—Page two

Fields in which the organization is active

Please check any classification or subclassification to which 15 per cent or more of the year's efforts or expenditures has been devoted.

1. ☐ HEALTH
 - a. ☐ Mental Hygiene b. ☐ The Handicapped
2. ☐ EDUCATION*
 - a. ☐ Scholarships, Fellowships, and Student Loans
3. ☐ SOCIAL WELFARE
 - a. ☐ Child Welfare b. ☐ Family Welfare c. ☐ Relief
4. ☐ ECONOMICS
 - a. ☐ Workers, Wages, and Conditions of Employment
5. ☐ RELIGION
6. ☐ GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
 - a. ☐ City and Regional Planning b. ☐ Housing
7. ☐ INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
8. ☐ RACE RELATIONS
9. ☐ RECREATION
 - a. ☐ Aesthetics
10. ☐ MISCELLANEOUS (*Please specify*)

* Check here for education in general. Contributions to specialized education (e.g., a medical college) should be checked only under the special heading.

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION
130 East 22d Street
New York 10, N. Y.

The co-operation of the many busy executives who replied fully, and often at considerable cost in time and effort, is deeply appreciated. On the whole, response to this study has been, we believe, at a higher level than in previous studies of foundations. There remain, however, a large group of foundations which either declined information or failed to reply to repeated requests. The names and addresses of these foundations have been included in our directory, in the belief that it is in the public interest that lists as complete as possible should be widely available; and it is hoped that full public reporting on the part of all foundations may become increasingly the rule.

Galley proof of the entries for all foundations making reports was submitted in July to the foundation offices, to give them an opportunity to make corrections. In a few cases where fiscal years ended in early 1945, foundations offered these later figures; they were not accepted where 1944 figures were available, since it was desired to retain 1944, or a fiscal year ending in 1944, as the basis of reported data.

The Questionnaire. The questionnaire adopted for this study, and presented in somewhat reduced size on pages 215-216, was a compromise between the detailed information which would have been useful for some purposes, and the amount of information it was believed could reasonably be asked of executives in a busy war year. "We have limited our request," we said in our accompanying letter, "to the minimum of information needed to make the directory helpful to persons who wish to know the sorts of work various foundations perform."

We asked for the *incorporated name*, which in a few instances differs from the name commonly used, as for example "The Church Peace Union, Founded by Andrew Carnegie" and "The Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund." The *address* line disclosed the fact that a number of foundations, particularly of the family type, have no address other than that of a lawyer's office. We requested the *names* of only two officers, the chief executive (who might be known by a variety of titles), and the secretary. The *date founded* disclosed no difficulties where a specific legal act was involved, but was something of a movable feast for foundations informally organized, or reorganized. The *donor* was usually a single person, except in the case of community trusts.

Under *purposes* we requested that the statement be made in the words of the donor or charter where appropriate, with a statement of present

emphases added where this purpose was broad. Many flavorsome and individualistic descriptions resulted, though in other instances we obtained only very general statements, often in the precise wording of the federal statute granting tax exemption. Where possible, more specific statements of areas of interest have been added by us, with the help of the classification page of the questionnaire, and the requested paragraph on war-induced changes. The few very lengthy descriptions, which had to be edited down, were almost invariably the product of small foundations.

The financial data requested consisted of *total capital assets*, *expenditures*, and *grants*. Some difficulties arose with definitions of total capital assets. We desired the inclusion of all such assets at the stated date, even if — as was the case in a few instances — a portion of such assets was earmarked for expenditure in a subsequent year. Both book value and market value were provided for, but in the published tabulations market value was taken where available; although this value varies with security prices from year to year, it seems the more consistent valuation for assets of a group of foundations established at various dates, which might assign book values on a scale varying from depression lows to the inflated figures of the late 1920's. Values are for the close of 1944, or for the close of a fiscal year ending in 1944, unless otherwise stated. Expenditures include all expenditures for the year 1944, or the fiscal year ending in 1944 — administration, direct operation, grants to outside agencies. Internal evidence indicates, however, that many community trusts and a few foundations omitted costs of administration and handling funds; their expenditure item is frequently identical with that given for grants. Such identity would be correct, however, in the case of some small foundations which are administered without charged cost, often by the donors.

The published figures for individual foundations are in all instances those supplied to the study by the executives of the foundation and later checked by them. Where financial data were incomplete, or not furnished at all, an estimate was made on the basis of the best information available. The authors sought, and in many cases obtained, confidential information on these items, which cannot be published but is included in the totals of the summary tables. All other foundations were considered individually, and on the basis of partial figures which may have been supplied, reports of activities, newspaper accounts at the time of will

probate, and various other sources, estimates were made where possible. These are the A-Estimates of the summary tables. They are not published in detail and will not be made available to the public; individually they must frequently be inaccurate, but collectively they are probably a fair estimate. Finally, for the 171 foundations on which no financial information was available from any source, arbitrary figures were applied, with capitalization assumed at \$100,000, expenditures and grants, each \$3,000 annually. No great accuracy is expected of these figures, which are the B-Estimates of the tabulations, but it is unlikely that this group as a whole includes enough assets or makes sufficient disbursements to influence the total foundation picture in any substantial way.

The questionnaire requested a paragraph of comment on *war-induced changes* in program. As it turned out, the year 1944 for which this information was requested was the final full year of World War II. The record obtained has therefore become unique as a summary of the effects of war on American foundations in the year of maximum effort. The findings are summarized on pages 86-88.

The second page of the questionnaire was devoted wholly to *classification*. The system of nine major classifications was adopted after considerable study of the fields in which foundations are active, and of previous surveys with which comparison might prove useful. It is not advanced as an ideal or fully co-ordinate division of the broad field of human welfare; its selection was pragmatic. A major classification "Miscellaneous" was added to care for those activities which either were outside the whole field of social welfare (though the foundation might have other activities within the scope of this book), or those of such individual nature that they required separate description. Ten subclassifications were included, to cover major subdivisions of these fields or to elicit information on a topic of special interest, as for example the subclassification "The Handicapped." Respondents were asked to check any classification or subclassification to which 15 per cent or more of the year's efforts or expenditures was devoted.

Although any system of classification is apt to present difficulties in application to specific programs, co-operation on this part of the study was excellent. The checking was done carefully, the classification "Social Welfare" was somewhat less of a catchall than had been feared, and only a very few foundations—again, the smaller ones—elected to express a 15 per cent interest in considerably more subjects than a normal 100 per

cent permits. A few obvious errors or omissions were corrected by the writers. Results of this part of the study are detailed in Chapter 5, Fields of Activity, and the foundations themselves are listed under the indicated subject headings in the Classified Listings, pages 187-198.

APPENDIX B

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THIS BIBLIOGRAPHY on foundations contains references of three kinds: books, which are not numerous; magazine articles, of which only those which seemed of special importance to this study have been selected; and reports issued by foundations. The last named are limited to those of the larger foundations, those which summarized the work of a foundation, or those which included observations on general foundation policies. The annotations represent the personal appraisal of one or both authors.

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Contains a directory and statistical summaries. The first three editions, for 1931, 1932, 1934, were compiled by Evans Clark for the Twentieth Century Fund. Raymond Rich Associates prepared the volumes for 1939 and 1942.

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——— *Seven Great Foundations*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1911. 79 pp.

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——— *Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie*. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1920. 385 pp.

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Summary of first twenty years of the activities of this Fund.

ENDOWED FOUNDATIONS. Special Information Bulletin No. 1. Association of Community Chests and Councils, New York, 1927. 17 pp.

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FURST, CLYDE, "Wealth Grown Generous," in World's Work, November, 1929, pp. 56-60.

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Includes criticism of the British charitable foundations, with the unfavorable end results of much direct relief.

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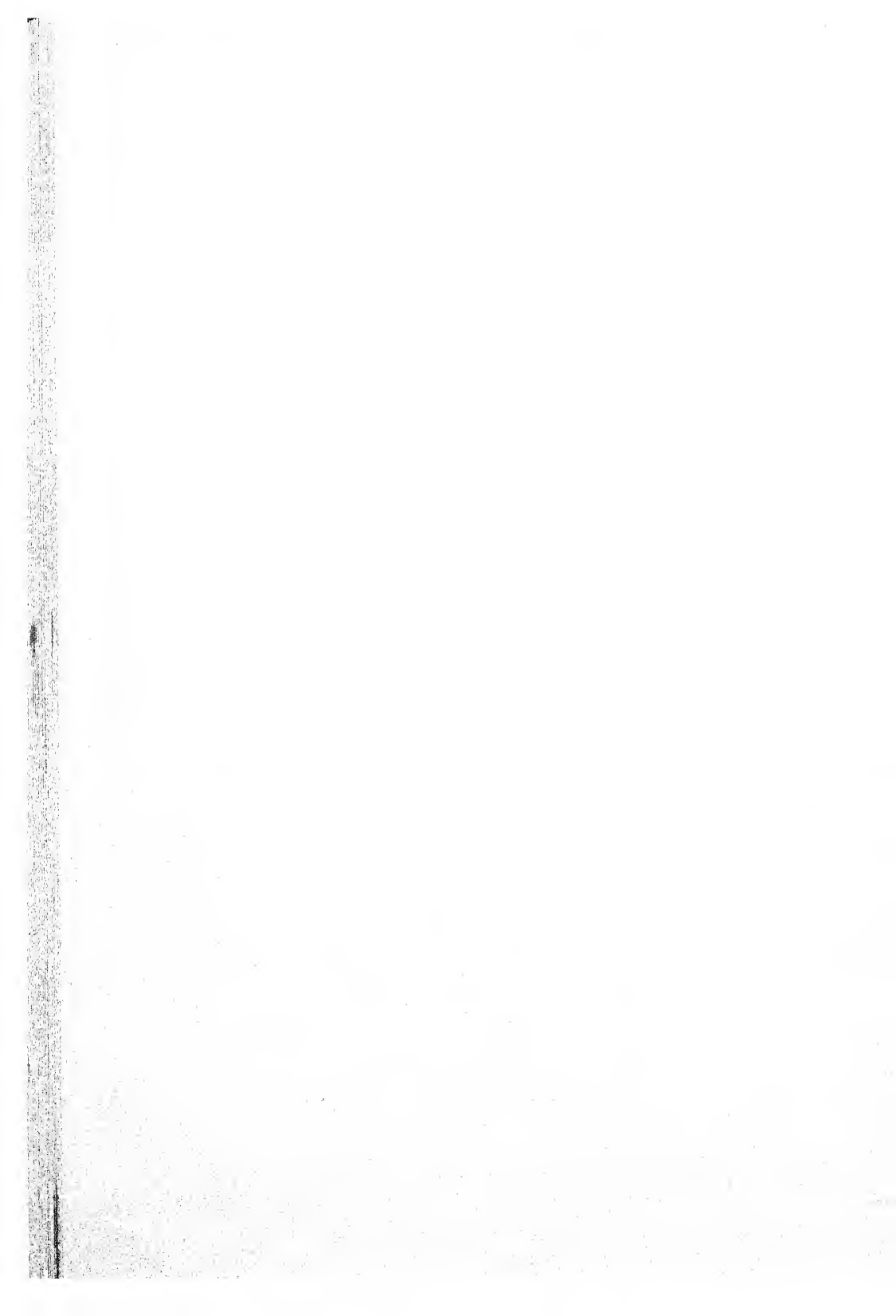
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. HINDU SOCIETY— AN INTERPRETATION



IRAWATI KARVE

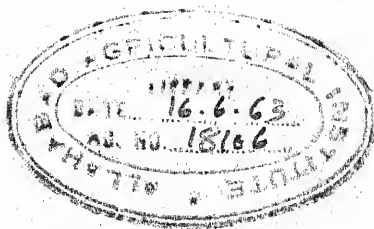
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PREFACE

This book is the result of my deliberations on the data collected by me in the course of my field work in different parts of India during the last twenty years and of my perusal of the literature in Sanskrit, Prakrit and the modern Indian languages. Four articles entitled "What is Caste" published in the *Economic Weekly* of Bombay during 1958-59 presented some of my ideas in a very condensed form. They were further elaborated in a series of lectures which I gave before the South Asia Colloquium of the University of California at Berkeley in 1959-60. I am deeply indebted to many colleagues in India and the U.S.A., too numerous to be mentioned by name, for their criticism, suggestions and encouragement after reading the first draft. I must however mention the name of one who I was sure would have read this book and offered helpful comments as he did after he read my book on Kinship — I mean the late Professor Clyde Kluckhohn.

Poona,
Vijayadashmi, 1961

I. K.





INTRODUCTION

In this book Dr. IRAWATI KARVE sums up her lifetime work of investigating the structure and history of Indian society and in so doing she presents a series of important theories and conclusions which all persons interested in that subject need to consider with great attention. Her thoughts are based upon two main sources of information—extensive field research in many parts of India, but especially in her home land Maharashtra, and a study of pertinent material in Sanskrit and allied literature from the time of the Rig Veda. Associated with this has been copious reading in other scholars' work and weighing of others' social theories. Few investigators have had such excellent equipment for this kind of study and can present material which is so informative and suggestive.

Most of her attention is naturally given to the caste system. She opens with a chapter on the variety of behavioural patterns in Indian society, a phenomenon which is so extreme that it would be hard to explain by the traditional Hindu teaching that the proliferation of castes is the result of fission, sub-fission, sub-sub-fission, and so on, of a limited number of "original" castes—four or five—differentiated by occupation or function. That improbable view is rendered untenable on the basis of a number of considerations including her own study of blood types and other physical characteristics. From such studies and other considerations she finds it possible to define scientifically, rather than impressionistically, a typical caste (*jāti*) as an extended family, a kinship entity, hence endogamous, normally with a hereditary occupation. The inclusion of the caste system within the framework of the Vedic Aryan four-class (*varṇa*) society, which later became five-class, is an artificiality, as of course many other anthropologists hold, a Brahmanic rationalization unsupported by historical data or modern field research.

At this point Dr. KARVE argues for a pre-Aryan existence of the caste system or something like it. Others, especially students of the history of religion, have argued to this same end in the past, but Dr. KARVE bases her opinion on facts of caste distribution and differentiation, tribal practices, the ways in which non-Aryan tribes become castes in Aryan society, and the general non-Aryan, that is non-Vedic, character of medieval and modern Indian thought, religious dogma, and social institutions. She gives little weight to the Aryan Brahmanical emphasis upon religious ritual, and the incentive to preserve it, as an element in the formation of the system as a whole. Her theory is at present largely a hypothesis but it has the advantage of explaining some features of the caste system so far not otherwise explained, and as our knowledge extends, as of the Harappa culture, we may hope for more definite evidence pro or con than is now available.

The occupational aspect of caste, so much stressed in Sanskrit tradition, she associates with the Rigvedic notion of *vrata* as one's personal function and with the latter the notions of duty, that is, of one's *karma* (action) as one's *dharma* (duty), which is so well developed in the Bhagavad Gītā. With this she connects the magical *satyakriyā* (Truth Act) known in the Rigveda, Brahmanic, Buddhist, and Jain literature and even in more recent tales recorded in Tamil or other modern languages.

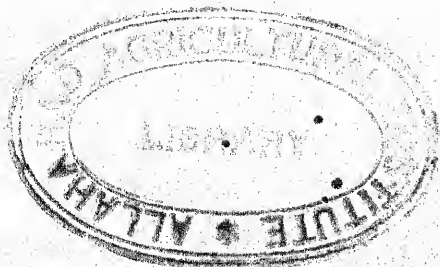
In speaking of the mechanisms by which caste has continued and flourished in India throughout three and possibly more millennia, Dr. KARVE comments on the rivalry between Brahman and Kshatriya for first place in the orders of society, and says that "the *varṇa* system, which appears so inflexible, itself is surprisingly flexible, because while the words denoting the five orders remained the same, the castes included in them changed." In short, the Brahmanic notion of inflexibility is unreliable. She also comments on cohesion among castes belonging to the same *varṇa* but again on factionalism among castes within a single *varṇa*.

Finally, Dr. KARVE presents her views on certain social problems which are current issues in modern India. These are associated with language, reform of the Hindu legal code dealing with women's position, the inviolability of the cow, communalism, prohibition, the emergence of new types of caste loyalty, preferential caste status in law, rights of Untouchables, movement of the population from villages to market towns and cities, the character of the newly established Panchayats, the ideals of democracy and freedom. As an anthropologist of great experience and thoughtfulness she deserves close attention when she speaks about such matters.

The remarks above may, I hope, give some idea of the range of Dr. KARVE's book and suggest its importance to students of both modern and ancient India as providing a constructive view of Indian society. It deserves wide reading.

University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia,
June 12, 1961

W. NORMAN BROWN



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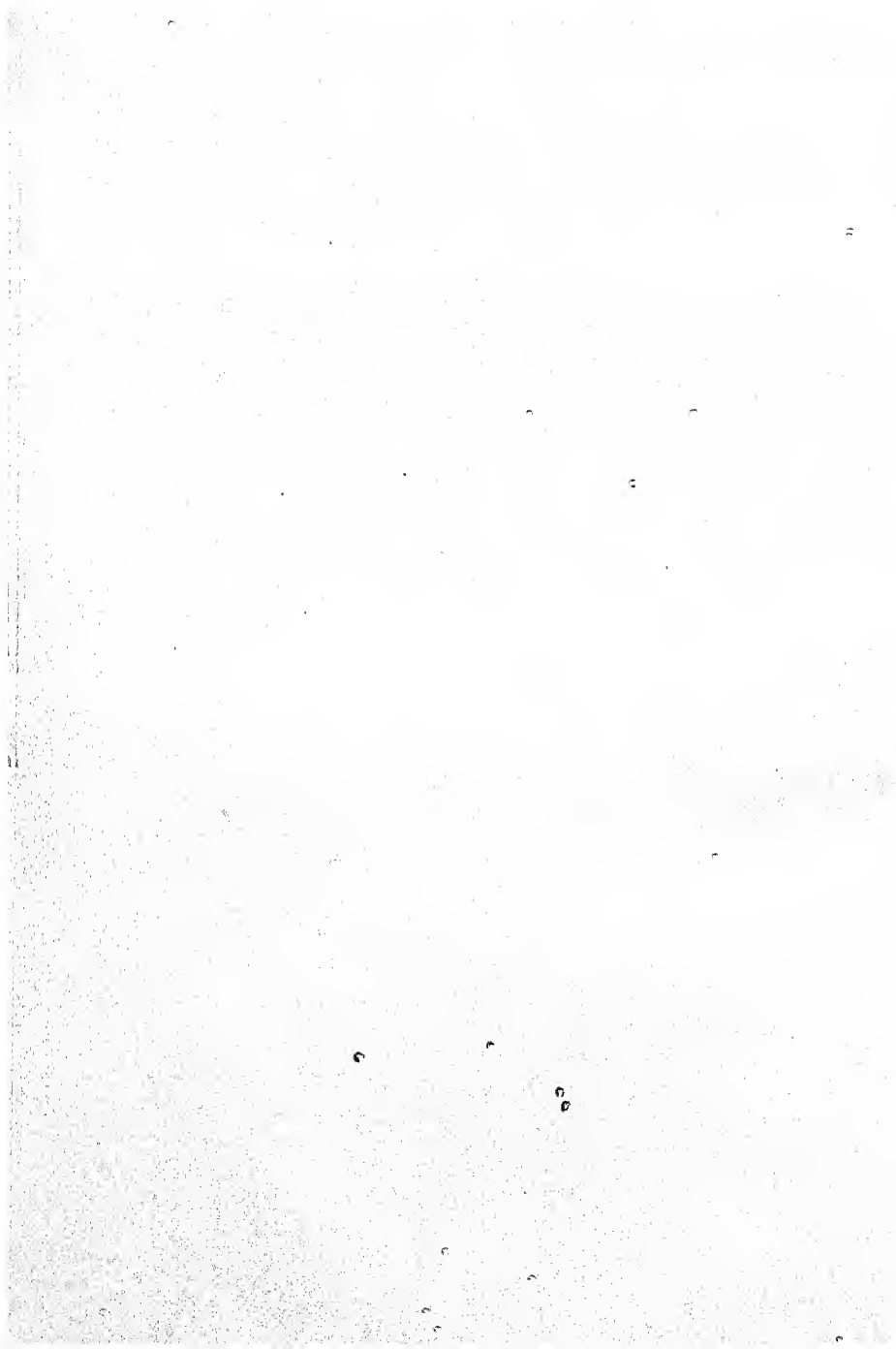
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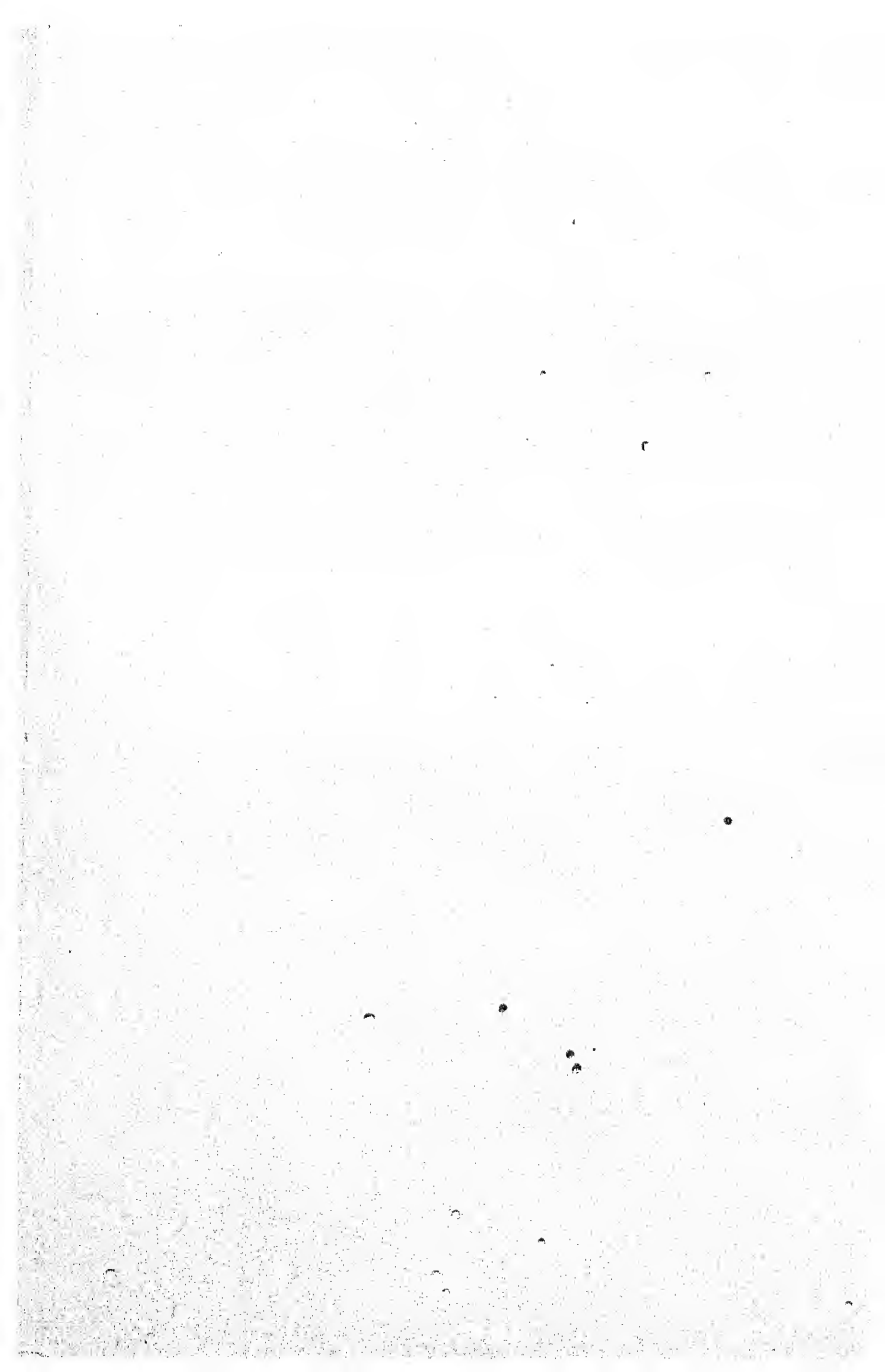
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CHAPTER I

1

THE VARIETY OF BEHAVIOURAL PATTERNS

The first impression that one gets of the Hindu society is the bewildering variety of behavioural patterns found in it. This impression persists and has been strengthened by a life-time of study of this society. Certain uniformities exist side by side with this variety. In my work on kinship organization I had tried to show that there are large regions in India where kinship organization was similar, but even as regards this cultural item there are small aberrations from the pattern within a region. In the United States, made up of ethnic elements from all over the world and where personal liberty is greatly valued, one finds greater variety in behaviour patterns than one does in European countries; but even in the United States bigamy has been prohibited by law, polyandry is not even heard of, all teaching is done through one language, and in spite of great liberty as regards dress no person will be allowed to go naked through the streets. This kind of uniformity has been absent in India with the result that almost every type of behaviour pattern recorded anywhere in the world has been found in India.¹ The variety embraces all aspects of life. How all-pervasive it is will be clear from the following few examples.

There is endless variety in the type of foods eaten and their preparation. Roughly each region eats what it grows, but in regions where more than one variety of cereals or pulses is grown, some eat exclusively some

¹ In recent years some of the variety has been reduced through state legislation. A reference to these measures will be made later.

varieties while others eat other varieties. How these preferences and taboos work, can be illustrated from some recent examples. In the year 1946-47 Bengal was hit by a severe famine and food-grains were sent to the hungry land from all over India. But the people of Bengal did not know how to cook millets and wheat and so volunteers had to be sent to teach them. However, the Bengalis did not relish the new food and workers who had gone from my city told me after their return how many Bengalis died rather than accustom themselves to these new kinds of food. In some regions of the Bombay State people, especially well-to-do people, eat wheat and rice. In the years 1940 to 1950, when food was rationed, each region was supplied the type of food which it ate. In Poona, rice was in short supply, so was wheat. But millets could be had in adequate quantities. Neighbours of ours, who had come from the Nagpur area, refused to eat what they called "cattle-feed" and spent a lot of money in buying wheat in the black market. In eastern Andhra both rice and a kind of extremely small millet are grown. The farmer eats this latter grain and sells his rice, which is mostly eaten by city people. I evoked surprise when I showed preference for millet bread as against rice. I discovered that it was a matter of prestige. In this area as soon as a young man became a clerk in a city office, he started eating rice, while much richer farmers stuck to their diet of millet. The National Food Technological Laboratory in Mysore has undertaken research for the manufacture of rice-like material from the starch obtained in the form of a paste from other cereals or tubers. Apart from prestige, variety arises from religious practices. In the Hindu calendar there are a number of days on which fasting is prescribed. These fast-days differ for different sects and for the same sects in different regions. "Fast" may mean a complete taboo on all foods or may mean the eating of only certain special foods. The prescribed foods for a fast change so much that what is special "fast" food for some people is everyday food for others. This was brought vividly to my notice when travelling in Andhra, where a

man who was "fasting", ate from our food things which would have been taboo in our region. Even apart from fasts, certain foods are tabooed by certain sects. Strict Jains do not eat tubers or fresh vegetables. Among Maharashtra Brahmins elderly ladies and widows of all ages were supposed not to eat onions and garlic.² Some religious sects prescribe a strictly vegetarian diet. Among Jains meat, eggs and fish are tabooed. Among Hindus on the other hand some castes are strictly vegetarian while others eat meat.* In Maharashtra non-Brahmins eat meat and eggs and fish, while Brahmins are supposed to be vegetarians. But among Brahmins one caste, the Saraswats, eat fish. The preparation of food, the way it is eaten and the implements used differ from region to region and from group to group. In the north and north-west of India bread is made by grinding the grain in the dry condition so as to give flour and then making a dough of the required consistency by adding water. The dough is kneaded, rolled or patted and baked on a flat iron plate. In the south, the south-west, and parts of the east, cereal (mainly rice and pulses) is soaked in water and then made into a rough paste by grinding on an oblong stone with another cylindrical stone or in a hollowed stone trough. Such a dough does not allow itself to be rolled with a rolling pin and so it is either cooked like dumplings or made into pancake-like things. While the stone mill is a household implement of the north, the flat stone grinder is that of the south. These stone grinders are like the *matate* and *mano* of the Mexican Indians. Wherever a south Indian goes he carries these two with him. In the north vegetables are cut by a knife. The thing to be cut is held in the left hand, while the right hand holding the knife is moved up and down in a chopping action. In the south, centre and east, there is a big curved blade attached to a block of wood, on which the cutter sits. The vegetables are held in the two hands and then moved up and down on the

² I have to cook meals without onions when my mother is a guest in our house.

cutter. The two implements have two different names, one of Sanskrit origin and the other of Dravidian origin. There is no common item of food in the daily food of all Indians.

In the north, people of all castes will eat food from an earthen vessel. In the south and centre, a Brahmin will never use an earthen vessel either for cooking or for eating. In a recent survey of some Maharashtra villages carried out by my colleagues and me, the possession and use of earthenware gave an instrument for caste-ranking. The same variety is found in dress — the types, the colours, the number of garments worn, etc. The north-west has tailored garments for men and women. In the rest of India, the lower garment is just a varying length of cloth and the upper garment may be tailored or may be absent in many cases. In the whole of the north, central and north-eastern regions, with the exception of bridal garments, women generally wear white clothes. Colourfulness increases as one goes southwards. In certain culture-contact regions this boundary is sometimes very abrupt. In Orissa the north and the south meet somewhere on the coastal plain near Kalingapattanam. In all Kalinga villages, women are dressed in white, in the nearby non-Kalinga villages women have coloured saris. The kind of colours, the kind of borders, the mode of wearing or printing enables a person to say where a particular garment comes from. Colours have different significance in different parts of India. In the Punjab and Bengal a bride is dressed in red. In the Maratha country, the colour at the time of the ritual is yellow. Also in the Maratha region green has a special significance not found elsewhere. When a girl reaches puberty, the first sari presented to her is green. During her wedding, except at the time of the ritual, she wears green. When she is pregnant, she wears green; when her son marries, she receives a green sari as a gift from the bride's mother. Finally, if she dies while her husband is living, she is cremated with a green sari on. With the green sari go green bangles. A widow

- must not have a thread of green in her garments. "It is a blessing to die in green" is a Marathi saying.³

Finally in the whole of the north and central India, men wear some kind of foot-wear. The words for foot-wear in all northern languages (*Vahan, Joda, Paytan, Jute*), are Sanskritic in origin. Apparently foot-wear was unknown in the south. There is no Dravidian word for foot-wear. The modern word, *Sapaat, Chapata* or *Chapala*, is supposed to have been derived from a Portuguese word, *zapote*.

The variety in family organization is equally great. Polyandry and polygyny are both found. There are groups which are matrilineal, others which are patrilineal. The taboo on consanguine marriages changes from region to region and from caste to caste. In the north marriage of cousins is not allowed; there are some regions in the centre and the south which allow one type of cross-cousin marriage and others allow both types of cross-cousin marriage. Finally there are regions which allow cross-cousin marriage and also the marriage of a man to his elder sister's daughter. The modes of inheritance and succession are also different.

The type of folk-tales and folk-songs changes from region to region, depending upon the kind of family organization it has. The sentiments expressed, the behaviour expected and the norms prescribed also change. A few days spent in a northern family and a southern family are enough to experience how different the whole atmosphere is in the two places.

The types of gods worshipped and the mode of worship change from region to region, and within one region from group to group and within one group from family to family. The two ends of Uttar Pradesh show allegiance to two different incarnations of the same deity. In eastern U.P. and in Bihar Rama is the beloved deity, while

³ I am not talking of bygone practices. My mother-in-law was cremated in green; my widowed mother must always be given presents of saris which have no green in them.

in the west, near Mathura, Krishna is the popular deity. The majority of names of people in the former region had reference to Rama⁴ (Rambharose, Ramkhilona, Ramprasad, Ramsinhasan, Ramhriday, etc.). South Bihar is dedicated to Mahabir, the god Hanuman. People belonging to the same cult practise it in slightly different ways. Among Vaishnavaites one finds the following varieties — the worship of Krishna as Partha-Sarathi (the chariot-driver of Arjuna) is found only in Tamilnad; temples of Nṛsinha are found only in Maharashtra, Andhra and Karnatak. The names Narasinha, Narasayya for men are also found only in these three regions. In Maharashtra and Karnatak Vishnu is worshipped as Vithoo (Prakrit form of Vishnu), though his wife is Rukmini, instead of Laxmi. The worship of Kumara or Kartikeya, a son of Shiva is found now only in the south. In Andhra and Tamilnad this god is worshipped as Arumugam (six-mouths) by men and women. In Maharashtra the sight of this god is taboo to women.⁵ There are some temples of god Vishnu in his original form also. The worship of the mother goddess in her innumerable forms differs from region to region and from family to family. A further study of this variety reveals certain important facts. In India there is a literary record which goes back to about 1000 B.C. Vedic hymns, stories and ritual of the books called Brahmanas, the thoughts of Upanishadas, Puranas, story literature, dramas, poems in Sanskrit, and the stream of literature which began some centuries later but ran side by side with the main stream, namely the literature of the Buddhists in the Pali and Sanskrit languages and the literature of the Jains in the Maharashtri and Ardhamagadhi languages all show that beliefs and practices and behavioural patterns recorded in them are still extant in India. The

⁴ I. KARVE — Personal Names in India, Bombay University School of Economics & Sociology, *Jubilee Volume*, 1947.

⁵ There is a temple of Kartikeya in Poona. The author has not been able to go in. A sight of the god is supposed to make a woman a widow for seven successive births.

early Vedic people mentioned some people by a term of contempt which meant "those who worship the male sexual organ" (Śiśnadeva). Possibly these were early worshippers of Shiva. Very soon Shiva, whose symbol is a phallus, became an honoured god in the pantheon. Later he became one of the Hindu trinity (Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva). Still later as the importance of Brahma vanished he became one of the two (Vishnu and Shiva) most worshipped deities of India. This position he still holds today. Benares, Shiva's city, has become the most sacred city of India. In this way other gods got added to the pantheon and whole books called Puranas were written in their praise. Skanda (called Subrahmanyam or Khandoba), Ganapati, Laxmi are some of these later gods and goddesses not found in the Vedas. The story literature mentions a host of spirits worshipped in villages and we find that they are still so worshipped. The important thing in this process is that while certain gods lose their importance and new ones rise, very few gods are lost entirely and finally. The sun-god still gets his oblation of flowers and a short prayer and has a sacred day (Sunday) on which some men and women fast in his honour. Indra the powerful Vedic god is no longer worshipped, but once a year in certain parts of India a pole is erected to do him honour. Varuna, the god of the waters, is appeased at the end of every rainy season by the citizens of Bombay who throw thousands of coconuts in the sea as offerings to him. Through three thousand years the Hindu pantheon has steadily grown. As new gods are added the old gods may wax or wane in importance but none are discarded for ever. The historical process is one of continuous accretion. There does not seem to be a stage where a choice was made between alternatives, a choice involving acceptance of one alternative and a definite, final rejection of the other.⁶

⁶ There are instances of persons and sects who made such a choice but it never became general.

This is seen not only as regards worship of gods but as regards almost all aspects of social behaviour. The later literature every time adds a few more items as the writers became acquainted with different parts of India. At each stage a few new gods, a new type of marriage code, a new type of food or dress is mentioned as belonging to the society. New patterns were recorded and brought within the circle of permitted behaviour. It is a process of continuous addition, what I have called agglomeration. It is not as if nothing has vanished. One can find out a few things recorded in the past but not existing today, but their number is small. There does not seem to be any exercise of conscious choice, which always involves both rejection and acceptance. The new has not meant the rejection of the old. That is why I have called it a process of continuous accretion.

Part of this variety is due to regional differences. A country as big as India, with regions differing widely in climate and soils, in historical growth and in racial elements is bound to show differences in behaviour patterns but the variety cannot be explained as merely regional. Many patterns are found in one and the same region. To take but one example — in Kerala the Nambudri are a patrilineal, patrilocal people among whom it is customary for only the eldest and sometimes one other son to marry. The descent and inheritance are through males. The Nayars and some other people in the same region are matrilineal and matrilocal. There is a small group of goldsmiths called Asari who are patrilineal and polyandrous. There are Illava who are patrilineal and patrilocal and all sons and daughters marry and the sons inherit equally from the father. Thiyya are both patrilineal and matrilineal. All these people are Hindus, i.e., belong to one religion and make pilgrimages to the same sacred temples in the region. This variety is found even among primitive people as is described by Professor MANDELBAUM for the Nilgiri region where the Todas, Kotas and Badagas live. Each one of these groups has a different behavioural pattern.

Secondly, though there are large regions in which one cultural trait or a few complex common cultural traits can be found, they are never found without exception among all groups. Within a given cultural region there are always a few groups which differ in a few cultural items.⁷

As we shall see later there are certain aspects of life in which great freedom is allowed to the individual but the variety of behaviour described above is not due to personal liberty. Barring some items a person does not have choice as regards the model of behaviour he wants to follow. A person moves within rather narrow boundaries of behaviour traditional to the group of which he is a member. The source of behavioural variety is this group. There are hundreds of such groups and the mode in which they live together and have done so for centuries past will help to explain what I have termed above "a process of continuous accretion" as also the second feature of this society, namely, "the coexistence of a multiplicity of behaviour patterns."

These groups are known in modern anthropological literature as castes. *Jāti* is the word oftenest used in India but it is not understood all over the country. The author found that in parts of Andhra, Karnatak and Tamilnad the word *kulam* was used in some places side by side with *jāti*, in other places exclusively.⁸ A caste is a group which practises endogamy, has a particular area (generally within one linguistic region) of spread or dispersion, may have one or more traditional occupations, has a more or less determinate or flexible position in a hierarchical scale and has traditionally defined modes of behaviour towards other castes. Recently the author has defined caste as an extended kin group. This has reference to the first of the features enumerated above. Because of constant endo-

⁷ Linguistic regions by their very definition share one language but even in this respect, in the Indian society which is largely illiterate, pockets of languages different from the languages of the region do exist.

⁸ In Sanskrit literature the words *jāti* and *kula* have different meanings but in many places in literature the word *kula* was used almost as a synonym for the word *jāti*.

gamy it is possible to demonstrate, at least for smaller castes, that each family is connected by ties of blood and/or marriage with the other families in the caste. An endogamous social group being defined as "extended kin group" might sound tautologous and obvious but the significance of this description will become apparent in two respects. Occupation, rank and traditional area of the spread of a caste have changed; but the one thing about caste which seems more resistant to change is its kinship character. It also helps to understand the similarity of caste to a tribal group. I had also proposed that the word caste should be used exclusively for this endogamous group. There are generally in a linguistic area a number of such endogamous groups or castes, each following the same or similar occupation. I had proposed the word caste-cluster for each such caste-group. To take one example — in the Marathi-speaking area, there are Tirole Kunbi, Dhanoje Kunbi, Konkani Kunbi and others who are engaged in agriculture. Each one of these groups is a caste and all taken together make a caste-cluster, called the Kunbi-cluster. In the same way Chitpavan, Karhade, Madhyandina, Kanva are some of the Brahmin castes. All together would belong to the caste-cluster "Brahmins". In the same way we can talk about the caste-cluster of the Sonar (Goldsmith), Teli (Oil presser), Shimpi (Tailor), etc. In certain contexts, especially with reference to rank or similarity of functions, it becomes necessary to speak about different clusters as belonging to some more inclusive group. For example castes following occupations like carpenters, brass-pot-makers, ironsmiths, goldsmiths, in certain areas of India are in the habit of designating themselves as belonging to a comprehensive group of "artisans" ("The five", Panchal). In the same way certain clusters of castes are called in modern literature "untouchables" or "scheduled castes". These groups of castes are generally bigger and more varied than what we have called "a caste-cluster". Such groups include several caste-clusters and have reference to a certain rank or claimed privileges. No special term need be given for this type of

grouping together of caste-clusters, but wherever reference is made to such groups the number of caste-clusters included in it will be indicated.

It has been noted above that castes are arranged in a hierarchical order. This order is of two types. One is an order in a small area (a village or a group of villages), where a given number of castes are arranged in an order which is recognized by the majority. Secondly, there has been in existence for at least 2500 years an order which rests historically on a classification of society by ancient Hindu theoreticians. This order divides all Hindus into four primary classes called *varṇa*. It would be best to use this word for the theoretical order. Indian literature recognises only two groupings. Single endogamous castes called *jāti* and the four ancient orders in which they are grouped, namely *varṇa*. There are no words for caste-clusters denoting a group of castes following the same occupation or higher complexes made up of several caste-clusters. If a caste were only an endogamous group in a fourfold order, words for grouping of castes would not have been necessary. But a caste, besides being an endogamous unit, is also a status group and an occupational and economic group and it is necessary to understand groupings of castes besides those under the *varṇa* system for an understanding of the working of the caste society. We shall consider this point later on.

Of the three types of groups — castes, caste-clusters and *varṇa* — referred to above, it is the caste which is mainly responsible for the variety in behavioural patterns found in India. In English anthropological literature the word caste was used for what I have termed the caste-cluster or even sometimes for *varṇa*. The smaller groups were called sub-castes. For example in Maharashtra there are about a dozen castes which are engaged in making all kinds of earthen pots. The maker of earthen pots is called Kumbhar (from Sanskrit *kumbha* — a pot and *kāra* — a maker). According to the older way of designation, each of the Kumbhar castes was called a sub-caste, while the caste-cluster of earthen pot-makers was called the

“Kumbhar caste”. This mode of naming the smallest endogamous groups created the impression that sub-castes were smaller groups derived through the sub-division of an entity called caste. A few examples were known of a split within a caste leading to the establishment of two new separate endogamous units; but such cases are exceptions rather than the rule.

Names of castes within a caste-cluster also helped to strengthen this impression. There are the following names by which the endogamous castes within the caste-cluster Kumbhar are known. The word Kumbhar is common to all these appellations and to it are prefixed other words. They are: Thor-chake Kumbhar (big-wheel Kumbhar), Lahan-chake Kumbhar (small-wheel Kumbhar), Kurere Kumbhar (stone-slab Kumbhar), Hat-ghade Kumbhar (shaping-pots-with-hands Kumbhar), Gadheria Kumbhar (donkey-using Kumbhar), etc. It was never expressly stated that an original Kumbhar caste split into various endogamous units owing to some people coming to use different implements and techniques or owing to the use of certain animals like donkeys for carrying the pots, but the way in which the whole caste system was described gave this impression.

Anthropologists were aware of the fact that some of the units called sub-castes had their origin from primitive people, some from some immigrant tribes, but the way the castes were described led to the belief that they arose through the splitting of an original entity in two ways, firstly through occupational specialisation in a casteless society and secondly through further specialisation, which led to further splitting of bigger groups. Also when caste was described as a social organization, the description and analysis made mention of castes bearing the same or similar names over very wide areas including many linguistic regions, sometimes over the whole of India and the impression was strengthened that either (1) the castes bearing similar names were products of fission of an original single body or that (2) each linguistic region had a single

casteless society split into several endogamous groups called castes.

This way of dealing with castes, together with the use of words like fission, segmentation or fragmentation was based on the theory that the castes are a product of continuous fragmentation. The following passage from Professor GHURYE's book⁹ suggests that sub-castes arose out of castes. "A close study of the name of the various minor units, the so called sub-castes, within the major groups reveals the fact that the bases of distinction *leading to the exclusive marking off* of these groups were territorial separateness, mixed origins, occupational distinction, some peculiarity in the technique of one and the same occupation, sectarian differences, dissimilarity of customs . . ." (italics mine).

The history and origin of caste was envisaged in the following way¹⁰ :—

An early period, roughly corresponding to the Vedic period, in which one finds mention of three *varṇas* but not of *jāti*, then a period of four *varṇas*, then a period of numerous *jātis* with untouchability coming in and a final period of fossilisation of the fragmented society divided into innumerable small castes. The Indian village was depicted as the point where castes came together to form a common society based on mutual support and specialisation of function.

Professor GHURYE states that caste was based on the attempts by the Brahmins to keep their racial purity. He makes a guess at the physical characteristics of the early Aryan settlers, tries to show that those characteristics are best preserved in all castes of the Punjab and in the Brahmin and Khatri castes of Uttar Pradesh and that as one goes down the ladder of caste hierarchy, the characteris-

⁹ Professor G. S. GHURYE first clearly enunciated this theory in his book *Caste and Race in India*, 1932, (3rd edition published in 1957 under the name *Caste and Class in India*, Bombay.) It was implicit in the work of Indologists and of RISLEY, which is quoted by Professor GHURYE.

¹⁰ Loc. cit.

tics of the population are the farthest removed from those of the hypothetical Aryans. The existence of separate castes in the "homogeneous" population of the Punjab is then presumably due to segmentation or fission as a result of intermingling with the aboriginal population and specialisation of occupation. He writes, "The idea of endogamy and other elements of caste were taken by Brahmin prospectors with them (all over India)". (*loc. cit.* Chap. 7). They could not influence the racial composition of the other regions as they did in the north of India, the land of their original colonisation, but they did "try to apply their scheme of occupational segregation and endogamy to various groups *according to their receptive abilities*" (*italics mine*). "This racial origin of the principal feature of the caste system is further supported by the early term *varṇa* meaning colour used to specify the orders in society." "I may conclude that caste in India is a Brahmanic child of the Indo-Aryan culture, cradled in the land of the Ganga and the Yamuna and thence transferred to the other parts of the country." (*loc. cit.* Chap. 7, pp. 178-179). He further says, "The lack of rigid unitary control of the State, the unwillingness of the rulers to enforce a uniform standard of law and custom, their readiness to recognise the varying customs of different groups as valid, and their usual practice of allowing things somehow to adjust themselves helped the *fissiparous* (*italics mine*) tendency of groups and fostered the spirit of solidarity and community feeling in every group." (p. 182).

Professor GHURYE then adds, "Multiplicity of the groups and the thoroughness of the whole system are due to the habit of the Hindu mind, to create categories and carry things to their logical end" To this sentence is added a foot-note: "Prof. C. G. SELIGMAN attributes this mental trait to the Nordic race. (See his presidential address to the Royal Anthropological Institute, *J.R.I.A.*, 1924)". Professor GHURYE obviously wishes to imply that the Indian Aryans were a branch of the Nordic (?) race.

This has been the classical picture of the Hindu society as presented by modern anthropologists. I also

worked on these assumptions, but every year I became more and more dissatisfied with this formulation, because it did not tally with my experience. While parts of the description were accurate, the total formulation was not satisfactory and so I am stating here what appears to me to be the true orientation towards caste. This orientation makes caste an aspect of the total picture of the Hindu culture through the ages — not an ingenious creation of the Brahmins, but a thing which has been there perhaps even before the Brahmins came on the scene. The Brahmins attempted to understand it, account for it, make use of it, but do not seem to be its creators. They were as much creatures of it as the other castes. I wish to place the phenomenon of caste as part of the total cultural process. Many anthropologists have described caste. I do not therefore wish to describe it in detail but it is necessary to stress certain aspects in order to understand its role in providing the variety of behavioural pattern to which attention has been drawn.

II

THE NATURE OF THE GROUP CASTE

I have designated caste as the carrier and the preserver of the variety which characterises Hindu society. Though most of the attributes of caste have been well described by other anthropologists, I shall describe a few characteristics, which will be referred to in this book again and again.

In order to understand properly what a caste is, it would be better to describe castes in one area first instead of for the whole of India. I am restricting myself to the linguistic area of Maharashtra primarily and then for illustrating certain points I shall consider castes from other areas.

- (a) Castes are endogamous groups;
- (b) castes are restricted to certain limited areas:

- (c) castes have a certain traditional behaviour pattern which is enforced in many cases by a "caste council" made up of a number of respected elder men in a caste;
- (d) castes live together with other castes without mingling except on certain occasions only. The intercourse between castes is peripheral or tangential;
- (e) a caste has generally a hereditary occupation, which is however not exclusive to it;
- (f) castes are arranged in a hierarchical order.

Let us consider the above points one by one.

A caste is an endogamous group. The endogamy of a caste is broken in two ways. The first is a legal marriage between a man of a higher caste to a woman of a lower caste. This is called hypergamy and is found in certain parts of India among only certain castes and is not a general practice in any region. The second exception to endogamy is an exception in a biological sense. Marriage involves certain duties and rights and status for the progeny. In this respect caste-endogamy can be termed almost universal except for the few hypergamous practices. The second exception, while leading to sexual relations across caste, has little effect on the family organization or the caste organization as such. In this category are to be mentioned practices of concubinage, housemaids and prostitution. Very young girls were bought as concubines and lived as secondary wives with the man who bought them. The man was called "master" (*malik*) by the concubine. The practice was not uncommon some twenty-five years ago. A man may take as concubine a widow from a lower caste. These two relationships were quite open. Men also had more or less permanent relations with some women in a less open way. Landed gentry and men from aristocratic or ruling families had free access to the maids of their wives. The author has seen a will, which made provision for such a "maid" and her progeny. Such maids and their progeny have become a separate caste in Rajputana. The males are called *khavās* and the females

khavāsīn. In every princely Rajput marriage the bride was accompanied by elderly and young *khavāsīns* from her father's house, the former as advisers of the bride and the latter as concubines for the husband.

The prostitutes always formed a recognized part of the society. They were generally drawn from the lower castes. Various social workers have noted that Mahar women made up a large section of the prostitutes in the city of Bombay. Mahar women were also used by the British army. A special class of "protected" women was formed by singers and dancers of high repute who were and are concubines to and under the protection of a rich patron. The progeny of these formed part of the mother's caste.

As regards the spread of a caste and its being confined generally to a linguistic region, it may be noted that border groups in many cases are bilingual and retain kinship ties across linguistic frontiers; but elsewhere a caste used to be confined to the linguistic area. A caste, because of its endogamy, was described by me as an extended kinship group.¹¹ In an extended kinship group all people can be shown to be related to one another either by affinal or by agnatic ties. Two people need not be related directly as agnates or as affines, but they may both be related to a third person with whom one is an agnate and the other is an affine.

Two attempts were made in this respect, which indicate the probable validity of the above statement in the case of two castes, one numbering about 200,000 and the other about 250,000. The first caste is that of the Chitpavan Brahmins. They have family names and about 150 distinct family names are known. Families having the same name trace their descent from a common ancestor, not merely theoretically, but in most cases actually. In this community, marriage among close kin and exchange marriages are not allowed. It was thought that if one

¹¹ *Society in India*, Ed. by A. ARYAPPAN and L. K. BALARATNAM, Social Science Association, Museum House, Madras, 1956, pp. 29-48.

chose a big family and recorded all the marriages for some generations one may be able to get all the 150 names of the families among the kin group. This investigation is still in progress, but the preliminary results do tend to show such connections. The family chosen was that of "Ranade" in Poona. Upto now only a portion of the Poona family has been covered where the marriages are recorded of all the "Ranade" descendants of one Ramchandra Ranade, who lived in and near Poona in the 19th century. According to this bit of genealogy, 98 Ranade men and women have married into 60 separate families which is 40 per cent of all the Chitpavan family names. In this genealogy only the spouses of Ranade-born people have been recorded. When we include the marriages of the descendants of women born as Ranade but given into other families as brides, we can most probably get all the names of the Chitpavan families.

The second attempt was made while investigating the marriage practices of the "Gangadikar Vokkaliga", an agricultural caste of Mysore. This caste is spread over four districts of Mysore and is divided into exogamous clans. The people of this caste practise cross-cousin marriage. Three villages at three different localities in their territory of occupation were chosen. Within each village containing numerous families belonging to different exogamous clans every one was related to every one else by ties of marriage and/or blood and between the three villages there were a few families who were directly related so that even the most distant Gangadikar Vokkaligas could be shown to be bound by kinship ties.¹² Similar in-

¹² The rules of marriage of these two castes — the Chitpavan and the Gangadikar Vokkaliga — are a little more complicated than stated here, especially the regulations about the avoidance of Gotra; but the outline given here suffices for the point I am illustrating. The investigation on the Gangadikar Vokkaliga was carried out by Mrs. Bhavani BANERJEE and is incorporated in the thesis for Ph.D., University of Poona, 1959, entitled "Marriage and Kinship of the Gangadikar Vokkaligas of Mysore". The Deccan College Research Institute is publishing the thesis.

vestigations need to be undertaken for some of the northern castes, which do not possess family names or exogamous clans with totemic symbols and which practise village exogamy.

Most of the Indian castes, i.e. endogamous groups, are within the 200,000 limit as regards numbers. There are a few bigger groups like the Marathas in Maharashtra (the population is over 5,000,000) and the Rajputs in Rajasthan. These groups show a very elaborate structure of hypergamy and seem to represent fusion of separate tribal elements. The rule of endogamy may hold true as regards these castes, but it would be difficult to prove the proposition about kinship. The task of investigation is not too difficult as both these castes are divided into exogamous patrilineal clans.

The various endogamous groups are not products of fission, but seem to have been independent and of different origin. Below are described a number of castes belonging to different caste-clusters in Maharashtra, which are known respectively under the names of (i) Maratha-Kunbi, (ii) Brahmin, (iii) Kumbhar, and (iv) Mahar.

This description will show how each caste within a caste-cluster differs from the other castes in its traditions and the region it occupies. The Maratha-Kunbi caste-cluster comprises castes engaged in agriculture; the Brahmin caste-cluster is made up of castes whose hereditary occupation is priest-craft, but who also own land and lend money; the Kumbhar are representative of an artisan caste-cluster and lastly the Mahars represent the castes whose touch or even shadow was supposed to pollute others.

I have chosen the Maratha-Kunbi caste-cluster as representing the land-owning and land-tilling castes. The word "Kunbi" is applied to various groups of tillers of land. The word "Maratha" used to be applied to a particular group in western Maharashtra. In successive censuses of India the word Kunbi has receded until at last in the latest census which mentioned any caste at all (the 1941 census), the word has all but vanished. Gradually

all Kunbis have given their caste either as Maratha or as some kind of Kshatriya.

The Maratha-Kunbi form over 40 per cent of the population of western Maharashtra. Of these the Marathas consider themselves as rulers and aristocrats and do not marry the Kunbis. Measurements have failed to show any difference between the Maratha and the Kunbi. Among themselves they show less variation than the Brahmins do.¹³ The Kunbi-Marathas of the plateau of western Maharashtra seem to belong to a great wave of immigration of a meso- to sub-brachy-cephalic people possessing cattle and practising agriculture, which started from somewhere in north Gujarat and ended in Coorg.¹⁴

The accounts about castes other than Brahmins cannot be as detailed as those of the Brahmins because the inscriptional records do not contain names of the present clans and the Kshatriyas of old cannot be identified certainly with the present Marathas, though there is no doubt that some names of the present clans are those of the old ruling dynasties.

The Marathas of the districts of Poona, Satara, Kolhapur, Ahmednagar, parts of Khandesh and Sholapur marry among themselves. All these people worshipped the god Shiva, Khandoba and Bhavani (the mother goddess) besides a number of minor deities. The preferred type of marriage is that of a man to his mother's brother's daughter. The marriage of a man to his father's sister's daughter is tabooed. The women of the higher status rarely went out of the house. These people were excellent dry farmers and guerrilla fighters, who struggled for twenty-five years with the Moghul power and drove it out of their land.

¹³ In a recent personal communication, this finding was confirmed through blood-grouping by Dr. V. R. Khanolkar of the Tata Cancer Research Institute, Bombay.

¹⁴ KARVE and DANDEKAR, *Anthropometric Measurements of Maharashtra*, Deccan College Monograph Series, Poona, 1951. Pp. 49-65 and 81-83.

There was another group of poorer landholders, who used to be called Kunbi in the same area of the high plateau, which seems to have merged with the Maratha group. The Kunbi living in the western coastal strip (Konkan) is an endogamous group and never marries outside of that group. The family names of these people are entirely different from those of the Marathas and Kunbis of the plateau. They worship local gods, though some visit the shrine of Vithoba in Pandharpur. Their forms of worship are different from those of the Marathas. The Kunbi women work in the rice fields with their men. In physical build they are different from the Marathas. Among them also a man may marry his mother's brother's daughter, but not his father's sister's daughter.

In parts of Khandesh and Berar are people who call themselves Leva or Leva Kunbi. They are different in their dress, speech and appearance from both the above groups. They are dolicho-cephals (cephalic index : 74) unlike the western Kunbis and Marathas (cephalic index : 77-79). Their area of occupation on both sides of the Barhanpur gap suggests that they are recent immigrants from the north. Their name may point to affinities to the Leva Kunbi of Gujarat, but the social organization of the two groups differs in many significant details. The Khandesh Levas practise the marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter. They have no traditions of fighting. They are an extremely industrious group and their women follow the milk trade. They tend buffaloes and sell milk and milk products. This activity again connects them with the north. Neither the Marathas nor the Kunbis of the plateau or Konkan are good pastoralists, though the Marathas take good care of their draught bullocks.

In Berar and Nagpur the dominant Kunbi group is called Tirole Kunbi. They differ from the western Kunbis in many respects. Their heads are narrower than the Marathas. Unlike the Marathas and western Kunbis they allowed the re-marriage of a widow to the younger brother of the husband and they did not formerly lay claim to be fighters.

From among the numerous other castes calling themselves Kunbis only one need be mentioned. This is called Mana or Manwa Kunbi. They are found in the Chanda and Yeotmal districts. Some castes are not willing to grant Kunbihood to the Manas. They seem to be a semi-primitive people living on the borders of Telangana and Maharashtra, who have taken the appellation Kunbi in recent years. Their cephalic and nasal indices and circumference of head place them nearer to the primitives than to the other castes.

Similar variety is found also among the Brahmin caste-cluster of Maharashtra. As an example I have chosen only a few major groups among the Brahmins, viz. Saraswat, Karhade, Chitpavan, Deshastha Rgvedi, Ma-dhyandina and Charak.

The Saraswat Brahmins of Maharashtra¹⁵ belong to the western coastal region between Malwan and Mangalore. All the families of the Saraswat which live today to the south (as far as Cochin), north (as far as Bombay), or south east (as far as Madras) of this region, can be shown to have their home within the region stated above.

Unlike other Brahmins of the south they eat fish. They speak a language which is held by some authorities to be an independent language and not a dialect of Marathi. In India they are the southernmost people speaking a Sanskrit language. Their deities are the mother goddess in her auspicious forms, and the god Shiva called Mangesh. In this caste a man can marry his mother's brother's daughter. Other types of marriage are allowed under exceptional circumstances.¹⁶

¹⁵ There are other Brahmin castes calling themselves Saraswat Brahmins in other linguistic regions of India.

¹⁶ In the case of exchange marriage (called *Satelote* in Marathi) a man can marry his father's sister's daughter. Ordinarily such a marriage is not allowed. I have also recorded a case of a man marrying his "elder sister's daughter", but this is also not the usual Southern Indian type of marriage inasmuch as the "elder sister's daughter" in this case is so only by status and not a "blood relation". See genealogies in *Kinship Terminology and Usages of the Maratha Country*, BULL. DCRI, Vol. 2, Nos. 1 and 2, p. 21. Poona, 1940.

Epigraphic records show that they have been occupying the coastal strip and the neighbouring places on the mountains at least since the Kadamba dynasty, i.e. since the 12th century. Anthropometric measurements show them to be one among the three broad-headed communities of Maharashtra. They are followers of the Rgveda school of ritual.

The Karhade Brahmins are immediately to the north of the Saraswats and occupy an extremely restricted area. Historical records show that they had a settlement near the town of Karhad on the western edge of the Deccan plateau in the 12th century. They seem to have been an important community holding revenue offices during the period between the 10th and 13th centuries. They also preferred the marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter, but also allowed the marriage of a man to his sister's daughter and to his father's sister's daughter. Traditionally they are strict vegetarians. They are the followers of the Rgvedic branch of ritual. They worship the mother goddess. There was a belief among certain communities in Maharashtra that the Karhadas sometimes offered human sacrifice to their goddess. There are records of this belief but not a single authentic case of such a performance. It would appear that they were originally a community of Brahmins living on the Deccan plateau but migrated to the coast *en masse* some time during the 12th or 13th century. Anthropometric measurements show that they possess the longest heads (absolute measurements) of all the Maharashtra communities. They also have the largest circumference of the head.

The Chitpavan Brahmins occupy the land north of the Karhadas. There do not seem to be as old records about this community as about the other Brahmin communities of Maharashtra. They seem to have started a migration to the high plateau of the Deccan a little before Shivaji's times (17th century). The migration has continued right upto the present century. This caste has within it some families which follow the rituals according to the Krishna Yajurveda, while there are others which follow some

branch of R̥gvedic rituals. The author believes that they are unique in this feature as all the other major Brahmin castes of Maharashtra follow one Veda only. They do not allow marriage among any type of near kin.¹⁷ Their main deity seems to be the god Shiva whose shrines ending with the syllables "Ishwara" are found along the coastal strip occupied by them.¹⁸ A female goddess, merely called Devi (i.e. Goddess) always accompanies the more specifically mentioned male god, e.g. "the Ishwara of such and such shrine and Devi." Thus a particular family would have the Vyaghreshwar of Asud village and Devi as their deities. Like all southern Brahmins they do not eat fish or meat. They have head breadth and head length smaller than either the Saraswats or the Karhadas. They are mesocephalic. All Brahmins of the coast are generally fairer than those of the plateau. The Chitpavans distinguish themselves in having a larger percentage of hazel or cats' eyes than the other coastal communities (over 10 per cent.)

The other three Brahmin communities live on the Deccan plateau called "Desh". The Deshastha R̥gvedi Brahmins, as their name suggests, live in the Desh and follow a R̥gvedic ritual. They are an extremely widespread and numerous community. They worship different deities, but quite a large number have Khandoba as their family god. Many of them are hereditary worshippers of the Vithoba of Pandhapur. The marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter is the one considered orthodox. A man's marriage to his elder sister's daughter is also found among them and rarely also a man's marriage to his father's sister's daughter. This caste is found in western and central Deccan along the banks of the Godavari and the Krishna and has spread deep into Karnatak. There are frequent inter-marriages between Karnatak and Maharashtra families in this community. They appear to be the oldest Brahmin community of this region belonging

¹⁷ The author has recorded a few exception to this rule.

¹⁸ Velneshwar, Koleshwar, Vyaghreshwar are some of the shrines.

perhaps to a period when parts of Maharashtra, Karnatak and Telangana formed a mighty kingdom under the dynasties of Chalukya, Rashtrakuta and Yadava.

The Madhyandina Brahmins are also a large community. They are found predominantly in northern and central Maharashtra and share the Godavari towns with the Rgvedis. They have many peculiarities which distinguish them from the other Brahmins.

- (i) They represent not one Veda, but a sub-school of a Veda. The Vedic school called the Shukla Yajurveda is itself the latest among all Vedic schools and the fact of a caste based on a sub-school of a late Veda makes one feel that they are rather a late accession to Brahminhood. In Sanskrit literature they are mentioned as the Brahmins par excellence of the Kaliyuga.
- (ii) Unlike the Saraswat and Rgvedi Deshastha Brahmins, they avoid not only all kin-marriage, but forbid the marriage of a man into the Gotra of his mother even when there is no kinship relation.

This regulation is followed by many castes of northern India and the author would take this trait as a sign of the late immigration of these Brahmins from the north. This is supported by the fact that the Brahmins of this sub-school are almost unknown to the south of the Krishna river. THURSTON remarks that in the south these Brahmins are supposed to attain Brahminhood only after mid-day. Madhyandina means "of the midday"; it is also the name of a person, a pupil of Yajnyavalkya, the founder of Shukla Yajurveda and followers of Madhyandina are known by his name. Apparently the name was misunderstood or deliberately misinterpreted by the southern Brahmins.

There are many family gods among this caste. Quite a number of families in eastern Maharashtra are worshippers of the mother goddess Renuka of Mahurgad. The anthropometric measurements come nearest to those of the Maratha caste (cephalic index : 76.1 to 80.2). Most of the people are dark, but some are extremely fair.

The Charak Brahmins are a tiny community found in the district of Nagpur. They belong to the Charak school of Krishna Yajurveda. Unlike the other Brahmins, they possess rather small heads. Both breadth and length are small (cephalic index : 79.16; circumference of head smallest among Brahmins, 532 mm.)

The Kumbhar caste-cluster is chosen as representing an artisan caste-cluster. From west to east in Maharashtra there are a dozen castes making pottery. Each is endogamous, each goes by a specific name and each has slightly different ways of making pots or has some other peculiarities exclusive to itself.

The Maratha Kumbhar are spread all over the western plateau. Among them there are people who make only hand-made pottery, some specialize in making roof tiles, some make bricks and some turn big and small pots on wheels. I found family-wise specialization. I also found in some cases one brother turning water pots while the other made huge pottery containers called *kundis* for garden plants. Our records show free marriage among all these families. They practise both types of cross-cousin marriage but no uncle-niece marriage. Unlike the Marathas and the Kunbis they do not have clans or clan names. All Kumbhars of a village are called after the village and do not intermarry, e.g. the 'Supekar' are from the village of Supe. This feature is northern Indian. These Kumbhars however have no memory of having come into Maharashtra from any land or region outside Maharashtra.

In Poona there are Kumbhars called "Pardeshi Kumbhar", who are new immigrants from the north as the name suggests (Pardesh = Other country). They are an endogamous caste and do not marry with the Maratha Kumbhars. They specialize in making clay figurines either by free hand modelling or by using moulds.

To the east of Poona district is found a Marathi speaking Kumbhar caste, which calls itself Lingayat Kumbhar. They are divided into clans, practise clan exogamy and belong to the Lingayat sect of Shiva worshippers. Our

Blood-group investigation shows that unlike Maratha and Pardeshi Kumbhars some of them possess sickle cells.

In the Khandesh district of northern Maharashtra are two endogamous Kumbhar castes called respectively Thor-Chake (big-wheeled) and Lahan-Chake (small-wheeled). One uses a big wheel for turning the pots, the other a small wheel. The former are also called Lad Kumbhar. Lada or Lata is an ancient name for south Gujarat. These Kumbhars may be immigrants from the Lata region. The Lahan-Chake are also called Ahir Kumbhar. This shows that they believe that they have some connection with the Ahirs. Khandesh was once ruled over by Ahir or Abhir kings. The language of Khandesh is called the Ahirani dialect of Marathi. The Ahir language has many affinities to Gujarati. Many castes in Khandesh prefix the word Ahir to their caste name. Besides the Kumbhars there are the Ahir Sonars (goldsmiths). The Thor-Chake and Lahan-Chake thus differ not only in the fact of working with wheels of different sizes but in other respects also and are possibly of different origins.¹⁹

In West Khandesh there is yet another caste of Kumbhar called Hat-Ghade or Bhonkar, which is entirely endogamous. Its technique is also very peculiar. A man takes an old pot, places it with its mouth on the ground and pats clay on its upper surface, which is really the lower half. He smoothens the layer and dries the pot for some time in the sun and lifts the dried portion off. Then he places this half-made pot with its bottom down, takes fresh wet clay and shapes the upper portion with the gradually narrowing mouth. These water-pots are rather thick. The process in some way is analogous to that used by Bhil women in making their grain bins of clay. This Kumbhar caste seems to represent a tribal element.

In north-eastern Maharashtra there are many Kumbhar castes and each seems to be of a separate folk origin. Some (the Kurere, as they are called) use a stone slab

¹⁹ Physical measurements and blood-group investigation of the Kumbhars is in progress.

turning on a pivot instead of a wheel. I understand that this technique is used by potter castes in the Gangetic plains. Quite a number of communities in this part of India are immigrants from the north. The Sungaria, another potter caste, who eat and keep pigs seem to be of primitive origin.

The Mahar is the name of a great "scheduled" caste of Maharashtra. But even among them there are small endogamous units. There appear to be a smaller number of such units in this group than among others. The Mahars of eastern Maharashtra do not marry those of western Maharashtra, nor those of the Konkan. It would therefore be better to call them a caste-cluster rather than one single caste. In each sub-region they follow the marriage practices of the predominant agricultural caste. Anthropologically they occupy a position halfway between the primitives and the other Hindus, somewhat nearer to the Hindus than to the primitives. They seem to belong to tribal elements very early drawn into the village economy of the Deccan. They are in intimate touch with primitive areas even now. The differences among them can be judged from the fact that while I found no sickle cells among the Mahars of western Maharashtra, Dr. SHUKLA of Nagpur in a personal communication reported sickling among Nagpur Mahars.

We thus find that the groups which practise endogamy are different from each other as regards their habits, cultural traits and, in many cases, ethnic and racial origins. To call them sub-castes and group them under other groups called castes does not seem to be justified in the face of these findings.²⁰

Each caste is a self-contained group which cannot be put in a scheme of classification comprising broad groups, sub-groups within each group and sub-divisions within

²⁰ This does not deny that in a few cases castes may have arisen through split, but such cases must be authenticated. The "Dasā" and "Visā" castes in Gujarat, bearing otherwise the same name, indicate a certain ranking. Whether these divisions indicate products of split needs investigation.

each such sub-group similar to phyla, genus, class and subclass as in botany and zoology. We can however understand the rationale of the older type of classification if we analyse the relationship of caste to occupation and of caste to rank.

Each caste has generally a traditional hereditary occupation. In the case of some castes there are injunctions against following occupations other than the traditional ones. A particular type of occupation is however never co-extensive with a single caste. Typically, several castes follow a single occupation. For example in the city of Poona there are several endogamous castes following the profession of goldsmiths : Ahir-Sonar, Lad-Sonar, Dai-vadnya-Sonar, etc. Among potters there are the Maratha Kumbhar, Pardeshi Kumbhar, Lad Kumbhar and Kachchi Kumbhar. In the same way there are various priestly castes called Brahmin. In the majority of cases the several castes which practise the same profession are known by hyphenated or double names, one part of which signifies the occupation and is the same for a whole set of castes. Thus in the names of the castes enumerated above the words Sonar (goldsmith), Kumbhar (potter) and Brahmin (priest) are common to several castes. In descriptive accounts of castes, whether in old and medieval Sanskrit and Prakrit literature or in modern anthropological literature, a majority of castes is given a name derived from their profession. In the late 19th and 20th century accounts (the various volumes of *Castes and Tribes* of different regions published in connection with the decennial censuses of India from 1881 onwards), one almost always finds the word Sonar as the name of "a caste". The various endogamous castes which practise this profession over one or more linguistic regions are referred to in English as sub-castes. Actually I have argued that these are groups of castes following the same occupation, they are caste-

turning on a pivot instead of a wheel. I understand that this technique is used by potter castes in the Gangetic plains. Quite a number of communities in this part of India are immigrants from the north. The Sungaria, another potter caste, who eat and keep pigs seem to be of primitive origin.

The Mahar is the name of a great "scheduled" caste of Maharashtra. But even among them there are small endogamous units. There appear to be a smaller number of such units in this group than among others. The Mahars of eastern Maharashtra do not marry those of western Maharashtra, nor those of the Konkan. It would therefore be better to call them a caste-cluster rather than one single caste. In each sub-region they follow the marriage practices of the predominant agricultural caste. Anthropologically they occupy a position halfway between the primitives and the other Hindus, somewhat nearer to the Hindus than to the primitives. They seem to belong to tribal elements very early drawn into the village economy of the Deccan. They are in intimate touch with primitive areas even now. The differences among them can be judged from the fact that while I found no sickle cells among the Mahars of western Maharashtra, Dr. SHUKLA of Nagpur in a personal communication reported sickling among Nagpur Mahars.

We thus find that the groups which practise endogamy are different from each other as regards their habits, cultural traits and, in many cases, ethnic and racial origins. To call them sub-castes and group them under other groups called castes does not seem to be justified in the face of these findings.²⁰

Each caste is a self-contained group which cannot be put in a scheme of classification comprising broad groups, sub-groups within each group and sub-divisions within

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In any village if one asks casually about the different resident castes (*Jāti*), one normally gets as an answer only the occupation names, e.g. Sutar (carpenter), Lohar

(iron-smith), Koshti (weaver) and so on. If one asks further about any particular caste then one gets the full information about the particular endogamous unit to which the local followers of the particular craft belong. It is this phenomenon which is partly responsible for the introduction of the word sub-caste and deserves closer consideration.

Not all castes following the same occupation are known by the same name denoting a caste-cluster. Kunbi is the general name in Maharashtra for all types of agriculturists. The name is applied to owners of small farms, tenants and also to farm workers. Tirole Kunbi are both owners and tenants. Mana Kunbi are in most cases unfree labourers on land. There are however a number of castes which do the same type of work but have different names probably denoting tribes. Such are the Andh of eastern Maharashtra and the Warli and Agari of western Maharashtra. In the case of these latter nobody has called them sub-castes of the Kunbi caste; they have always been given the status of independent castes.

"Brahmin" is the name of priests who follow the ritual according to certain Sanskritic rites. There are a host of other priests belonging to special castes with different names like Bhagat,²¹ Gunia, Baria, Gurav, etc. Nobody has called these sub-castes of some big priestly caste. They have always been acknowledged for what they are : independent endogamous castes.

Another fact, which must be remembered is that the existence of a number of endogamous castes following similar profession and called by the same name over a linguistic area or over the whole of India was, in the past, generally not known to the individuals belonging to the separate castes. Each caste has its own area of extent in which there is kinship and marriage, mutual visiting and

²¹ Bhagats are found among many so-called lower castes, sometimes as a special caste, sometimes as a family. Gunia are the priests of some of the aborigines. Baria is the ruling priestly caste among the semi-primitive Binzals of Orissa.

meetings of caste councils. At the periphery there is a certain overlap and people may know of another endogamous caste which follows the same occupation but which differs from their own in other patterns of behaviour. Within the area over which a caste is spread it is known simply by its occupation like Kumbhar (potter) or Chambhar (shoe-maker). In the contact area one caste differentiates itself from any other with a similar occupation. Only in the case of the knowledge of the existence of other similar castes is the necessity felt to differentiate one's own endogamous group from another. Near Mysore the term "Vokkaliga" is applied to Gangadikar Vokkaliga only and people belonging to that caste call themselves simply "Vokkaliga". But in north Karnatak, there are other Vokkaliga groups (castes), who know of each other's existence and always differentiate themselves as Kuda-Vokkaliga, and Sada-Vokkaliga. The latter in their region call themselves either Vokkaliga or Cadaru.

In an old document a village of the Konkan coast (western Maharashtra) is described.²² In it are mentioned Brahmin, Kunbi and other castes. As the descendants of the people mentioned are still living in the village, their precise castes can be determined and the name of the particular Brahmin caste and Kunbi caste can be stated. But the writer of the document did not feel it necessary to mention any more specific caste names since the village contained only one caste each of Brahmins and Kunbis.

Before taking up the question of occupation and ranking, one feature deserves study. A caste is in some ways a cell-like structure which for many purposes is separated from other similar cells and lives a life partly independent of them. Caste society is made up in such a way that a very large proportion of the activity of the individuals is

²² This document has been reproduced in part in the first chapter of the Marathi Autobiography of Dr. D. K. KARVE, *Atmavritta* by Dhondo Keshav KARVE, 1915. Another copy of the document was found and published in 1958. The author thinks that the document is as old as the 15th century.

confined to their own group. This is especially true of the social and cultural aspects of their life.

In the economic sphere the individuals and the group as a whole come in contact with other groups. Buying and selling, serving in particular capacities and being paid or served in return, are the ways in which castes come in contact with other groups. In cultural and social behaviour castes are never completely self-sufficient or isolated nor is economic dependence complete in all cases. The economic activities which involve interaction with other groups are of two types. One type involves rendering of certain traditional services at traditional and generally inadequate compensation and the other type can be described as economic inter-dependence where mutual services and compensations are more on terms of equality. Whether the economic activity is on equitable terms or whether it is a traditional form of exploitation, it brings individuals from one caste into contact with individuals from other castes. This quality of being comparatively self-contained in social and cultural activities and at the same time being linked with other groups in economic activities is a fundamental characteristic of the groups called castes.

A few examples will elucidate this. A survey was made two years ago to find out the nature and degree of intercommunal activity in rural areas.²³ For this work three villages were chosen and the head of each family was asked certain questions. The habitation area and the house sites were mapped. The questions asked were : Who had married whom? Who had given presents to whom? Whom did you invite for a meal? For a less informal party? For a cup of tea? By whom were you invited for such hospitality? Whom did you visit for a few days? A day and night? or for a few hours? Who were own friends? the children's friends? If casual help was given, what was its nature and to whom was it given? Who was tenant to whom? Who employed whom? Who bor-

²³ This survey was undertaken at the Deccan College, Poona on behalf of the Planning Commission. It is awaiting publication.

rowed money from whom? In addition there were questions about attitudes to inter-group intercourse.

The picture that emerged when all the data were tabulated was that the habitation area in each village was divided into areas containing houses of one caste. Within each such area contiguous houses belonging to one patri-lineage could be discovered as clusters. Besides the caste clusters the whole area was generally divided into two main habitation areas, one belonging to the higher castes, the touchables, and the other belonging to the lowest castes, the untouchables. Different castes among touchables and untouchables within these larger areas lived a little separated from the others. The village habitation area was thus roughly divided into as many units as there were castes in the village. (A few exceptions were those who did not own a house but lived in rented quarters).

In the three villages surveyed not a single marriage had occurred outside the caste. The attitudes showed that only one or two people among the higher castes expressed the opinion that they did not mind mixed marriages. As many as 25 to 50 per cent of the Mahars (one untouchable caste) expressed willingness to give their daughters to touchables or receive brides from touchables, but were not willing to enter into marriage relation with the Mang, another untouchable caste.²⁴

²⁴ What is happening in urban and semi-urban areas can be gauged from the extract below :

A survey of marriages registered in Poona City and district during the years 1955 and 1956 showed that out of a total of 5895 Hindu marriages 126 (2 per cent) were marriages between castes belonging to one caste-cluster. These were all marriages between different Brahmin castes. The number of marriages between castes belonging to different caste-clusters (not necessarily to different *varnas*) was 41 (0.6 per cent) and the marriages of Hindus with people of other religions were 32. All the other marriages were inside the endogamous caste. From these figures one might say that marriages across the caste-clusters and *varna* were also as rare as marriages out of one's religion. The higher incidence of marriages within the caste-cluster called

As regards inviting people to a meal, going to others for a meal and visiting for a few days, the activities were confined in nearly 90 per cent of cases to the kinship group. The remaining 10 per cent were within the caste group. The same was the case with friendships. Dr. McKim MARRIOTT of the University of Chicago, in a personal communication told the author that in his observation in north Indian villages also, friendships outside the caste group were not only rare, but were generally accompanied by much shame and feelings of guilt. Gift-giving, where the pattern is not disturbed by modern business relations, is confined almost purely to the kin group.

Giving and receiving of help include activities ranging from giving food grains to a man in need, to giving shelter in one's own house to somebody whose house had been burned down or nursing in illness. It was found that outright giving of food grains or clothing to people of a caste other than one's own was not uncommon but not a single case of sheltering in one's own house or of nursing an ill person of a caste other than one's own was recorded. A few people who had occasion to receive such help always did so from their kin or, on a few rare occasions, from unrelated people of their caste.

As regards the other activities, people were tenants to people of other castes, they borrowed money from any caste and accepted employment from anybody.

Thus purely social activities were confined within the caste, while economic activities cut across the caste

a supposed solidarity or homogeneity in the Brahmin *varna*. The Brahmins are the most educated castes of Maharashtra. They have been advocating social reforms and especially inter-Brahmin-cluster marriages for a long time and the anti-Brahmin movements of the past fifty years have made them aware of a common destiny. These events in recent history can explain the higher incidence of such marriages. It may be noted that of the 41 marriages of people of different caste-clusters, 28 were those in which one partner was a Brahmin.

This survey has been carried out by Mr. MOKASHI, a student of the Deccan College, Poona.

frontiers. On certain occasions in a village meals are served to people of all castes. This does not form an exception to the above rule because the meals are not given on terms of equality. Such meals are given only by the richer and more influential people of the higher castes. The near kin, the important people of one's own caste and other people of higher castes sit for meals together. Such people as the barber, the carpenter etc. may come into the house and may be served meals in an open shed which is part of the house, while people belonging to the untouchable castes may line the road outside and get their share of food after everybody else has eaten. In all this context a meal does not entail social give-and-take on terms of equality.

The social self-containedness of the caste is broken on certain occasions when all castes in a village appear to combine for achieving certain common ends like celebrating certain festivals, sometimes for common defence against dacoits and sometimes to make common representations to government. I have used the word 'sometimes' deliberately, because the usual picture even of a dacoity is that the poorer people either shut themselves up in their houses or run away from the village and leave the richer people to face the robbers. The poor and the rich are not only economic classes but often caste groups too. Among the Maratha and Brahmin groups there may be richer and poorer people, but all of them are better off than the Mahar, the Mang and the Ramoshi. In the same way the few families belonging to the Vani caste are in possession of more cash and ornaments than other castes.

The social isolation is broken more often in the modern urban setting. Boys of different castes study in the same class and friendships are formed. These friendships may remain outside of the family circle and may lead to tensions and frustrations. Among people working in the same place similar situations arise. As long as these friendships are kept away from the family and the home, there is no open conflict; but the minute they impinge on that sphere tensions arise. This is especially the case

among people belonging to castes which are educationally and economically backward. If a man of such a caste tries to have a friendship with men of higher castes he is looked down upon as a climber by the advanced set, and earns hatred and jealousy from his own caste, who dub him a deserter.

The caste councils effectively control the behaviour of the members of the caste and punish aberrant practices. Castes thus have an agency of social control and punishment which is parallel to the agency of the state. Taking into consideration all these things a caste has been called "a state within a state and a kingdom within a kingdom". The castes thus have only peripheral or superficial contact with one another and though their isolation was not as complete as Leibnitzian Monads, it embraced many vital aspects of life.

A caste has generally a hereditary occupation, which however is not exclusive to it. People of one caste can follow different occupations. The choice in olden days was limited or in some cases denied by two considerations. The people of the lowest castes were not allowed to follow the occupations of the higher castes and people of the higher castes did not follow certain lowly occupations for fear of losing prestige or getting polluted. Barring these limiting circumstances there was some elasticity. If one studies the caste situation it will be evident that occupations needing special skills account for only a small number of people in the Indian population. There is specialization in the sense that food producers will only produce food and demand all the services from the other castes but the food producers account for the largest number of people in India. In Europe, in America and also among most primitive agriculturists in India there is quite a number of small jobs to which a farmer turns his hand. He may do some repair to his house and farm implements and some kind of carpentering, sometimes his women-folk will weave etc. But in many parts of India a farmer is just a farmer and nothing else.

Specialization of occupation can develop only in a society which can support workers who do not directly engage in activities for producing or procuring food. Such possibility arose for the first time in the history of mankind with the discovery of agriculture. In the cities of ancient civilizations specialists of all types followed their respective trades in the cities. We have from many sources written accounts and archaeological evidence which give a picture of the activities of these artisans and artists. To what extent the rural areas of these ancient civilizations harboured specialists we do not know. In many developed societies even today the actual cultivator continues to perform a wide variety of occupations within his own family. Extreme specialization within rural society appears to be a distinctive characteristic of India. In addition to the basic producers of food who are also specialists — the agriculturists, fisher-folk, cattle-raisers, shepherds, etc.— there are to be found in the villages other specialists like skilled artisans, purveyors of many types of services, landlords and merchants.

Let us take a village in Maharashtra as an example. The majority of the households, say from 60 to 70 per cent, have as their main occupation agriculture. Some cultivators are landowners, some tenants. There are always one or two houses of shopkeepers. Then there are shoemakers, drummers, a butcher, a temple-servant, some shepherds, some Ramoshi (semi-tribal brigands), some carpenters. A few people come every year after the rains, live in the village for a few days, amuse the villagers with songs, dances, performances with tame animals or mend their metal pots and pans and collect grain in return. Many of the artisans own a little land, but let it out to tenants for cultivation. The landowning people and the tenants pay in kind every day as well as once a year to about seven or eight households for specific services rendered. These services consist of shaving, supplying ropes, repairing ploughs or making new ploughs, supplying earthen pots, playing music and dancing before the goddess at a festival, supplying iron implements like ploughshares,

axes, etc. or repairing them, making new footwear and repairing them, officiating at rituals, servings as village accountant and scribe, and lastly, lowly offices such as removing dead cattle from the village habitation area, or acting as messenger, village crier and watchman. For many other services, especially those of the professional reciter and dancer at the festival of the goddess, some money also has to be paid. Only the richer villages have a goldsmith. Nowadays he is generally found in the market towns. He is paid in cash and may be invited for meals at the houses of clients of higher castes.

Most of the transactions are still on the basis of exchange, inasmuch as services are paid for by cooked food or corn. The shop-keeper is in quite a different category from the other purveyors of goods and services. He supplies the ever indigent agriculturists whatever they need on the basis of deferred payment and almost always gets far more in money and kind than the goods supplied should cost. He is relatively well off and typically lends money to the cultivators.

If we look at this picture from the point of view of specialization, we find that specialization in the sense of possessing a learnt skill is found only in the case of the artisans. A carpenter, a goldsmith or a potter is a specialist. Some of the lower village services like working as a messenger or a sweeper are not at all specialised jobs requiring the acquisition of skills. In the same way among agriculturists the owners of land who get the land tilled in the traditional way through tenants cannot be called specialists. Other agriculturists do very hard and monotonous work which can be termed unskilled or semi-skilled heavy labour rather than specialization. Most of the menial services are also in the same category. Trading in the sense of shopkeeping, buying and selling again is not a special skill, except in so far as some amount of literacy and knowledge of account-keeping is required. Apart from the artisans, some of the persons providing priestly services can also be entitled specialists. Fisher-folk and boatmen are also specialists but not the drivers of bullock

• carts. We can say very roughly that not more than 15 per cent of the rural population is engaged in work needing some kind of special skills and all the rest possess no particular skills. The non-specialist majority consists of landlords and merchants on the one hand, and on the other, of actual farmers of all types whose work is hard and back-breaking but does not require special skill and people engaged in menial services other than farming.

What relation does the caste structure of the village bear to this occupational structure? As we might expect, the relation between caste and occupation is closest in the case of the relatively small group of occupational specialists. Common caste designations referring to occupations are, in fact, typical only of caste-clusters among the skilled artisans. Among the agriculturists the castes and caste-clusters have more often retained separate names reminiscent of tribal or other origins, which give no clue to the occupation followed. There will practically never be more than one caste of endogamous potters, carpenters or weavers within a village. But two or more quite distinct agricultural castes with totally unrelated names are very frequently settled in the same area and the same villages.

In the same way some of the castes doing menial jobs, agricultural labour, removing dead cattle, etc. have names which are neither common from region to region nor describe the type of work done. Such names are : Dhed, Mala, Madiga, Holey, Mahar, Dom, Pana. In Maharashtra Maratha, Andh and Mana are agriculturists whose names tell us nothing of their occupations. On the other hand, Sonar (goldsmith), Lohar (ironsmith), Sutar (carpenter), are names of caste-clusters, which at once reveal the common occupation followed by all castes within the cluster.

To what extent do the members of the specialized and unspecialized castes actually follow the occupations which are carried in their caste names or considered traditional to their castes? Among Brahmins we have many instances in previous centuries as well as the present of individuals following vocations other than that of priesthood.



A Brahmin born in 1858 records in his autobiography that his grandfather was a wealthy trader who had lent a large sum of money to the ruling chief of Baroda.²⁵ The Naik family, a Brahmin family of Baramati in Poona District were money-lenders by occupation in the 18th century. The Madhyandina Shukla Yajurvedi Brahmins of Maharashtra were well-known traders and money-lenders in pre-British times; the commerce of the whole of eastern Maharashtra was in their hands. People belonging to Brahmin castes have been rulers at various times and in various parts of India.²⁶ A number of Brahmin castes have been traditionally landowners and remain so today. Many Brahmins served as government servants in the revenue department of the Mughal Kings.

King Harsha belonged to the Vaishya caste, who are supposed to be traders by profession. The Kayastha, who as a caste of scribes, were dismissed contemptuously in a Sanskrit drama (*Mudrarakshasa*), as of no importance, succeeded in establishing a dynasty in Bengal.²⁷

As in other places in the world status depends upon a number of things like economic condition, birth, age, possession and conspicuous manifestation of certain qualities valued by society like learning, valour or saintliness, literary and artistic ability and power.

Status rarely depends on any one of these things, nor is there ever complete accord as regards a scale of values for the attributes enumerated above. Status is not just a value system in the abstract, but a value which receives concrete manifestation on innumerable occasions. A man may receive public recognition as citizen number one on a certain occasion but may be way down in the scale in the same society on certain other occasions. For example, in India, the older people always take precedence over the younger; the younger ones bow to the feet of the older

²⁵ *Atmavritta* by Dhondo Keshav KARVE, referred to above.

²⁶ Narmadeshwar PRASAD, *The Myth of the Caste-system*, pp. 68, 72, 80, etc.

²⁷ BASHAM, *The Wonder That Was India*, Grove Press, Inc., New York, 1954, p. 1, footnote; p. 47.

people and this normal procedure is reversed only on one occasion. The groom and the bride symbolise Vishnu and Laxmi, the god and goddess of prosperity, and the parents for once bow before their own child immediately after marriage. The man in power, whether king, minister or dictator, may pay homage publicly and bow his head before an acknowledged saintly man, but otherwise completely disregard his admonitions.

A society has almost never a fixed system of values in which the social concept of status can be determined rigidly. Under certain historical circumstances, status may attain both clarity and fixity in certain respects. Thus during the days of the British rule in India, the status of a Britisher was always higher than that of an Indian, whatever the status might have been in his own social structure. This order of importance remained even when the Hindu Brahmin thought he was polluted by the touch of the Britisher. An equally rigid definition of status has been in existence "theoretically" in India for centuries. Though this does not apply in its entirety to the present Indian situation, the value system of the structure has great effect on the thought, aspirations and actions of different castes; and to acquire full knowledge of the present tensions, it is necessary to describe in short this traditional scheme of status.

In Sanskrit and the modern Indian languages, this scheme is called "the four-rank system" (*Chaturvarṇa-samsthā*). The word "*varṇa*" has been taken by jurists, anthropologists and indologists to mean class, which is correct. It is used in grammar to denote a class of speech sounds. In this grammatical context *varṇa* means class but has no connotation of rank. However in the social system called the *varṇa* system, the idea of rank predominates and so in order to avoid misunderstandings arising out of the use of the word "class", which is used widely for a different type of social system in Western society, and to bring out clearly the underlying idea of status, the word "rank" has been used to denote *varṇa*.

This four-rank system has been very clearly described by Manu, who is supposed to be the first codifier of India. All other versions are expansions or modifications of the system as given by Manu. The version of Manu is given below in short.

Manu says, *jāti* are many while *varṇa* are only four. The latter are : Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra in that order. The first three are *dwija* (twice-born), i.e. have the right of going through the ritual of the thread ceremony, while the fourth rank has no such right. All the numerous *jāti* were brought into this four-rank system. Manu's whole scheme will be discussed later. For the present we may note that according to Manu Brahmins ranked as first, but this was never conceded by the Kshatriyas. The ancient literature comprising the Upanishads, the two epics Mahabharata and Ramayana, and the Puranas have many records of mutual rivalry and defiance of these two *varṇas*. Brahmins being the literate class, have reiterated their claim to be the first but narrated events show that the claim was at best but precariously held by the Brahmins.

The classical scheme and its modification through the ages make fascinating study, but need not be expanded here as they are largely irrelevant to the present study. The four ranks and their names are however important in understanding the problem of caste and status in the present context and so are explained below very briefly.

A description of the position of caste and *varṇa* in Maharashtra will help one to understand what prevails in other regions of India also. Each region reveals a slight variation depending mainly on (a) the history of the region, (b) the power and numerical strength — which in the modern context are sometimes synonymous — of the different castes, and (c) the safeguards offered by the Constitution. Of these factors the historical one is very prominent in Maharashtra.

Maharashtra was under Muslim rule from the 14th century. As a ruling people, Muslims enjoyed the same type of precedence which the British did during their days

of domination in this country. Within the Hindu society Manu's four-fold ranking system — modified in certain respects — involving certain rights and disabilities held sway, as can be seen from the available literature and political and revenue documents. Manu's system was modified in two respects. Almost all the castes with the exception of the Brahmin were denied the right of the thread ceremony and thus made into Shudras. Among the Shudras a sub-rank was in existence. This sub-rank was made up of certain castes whose touch (even their shadow) was held to be polluting — this was the untouchable rank. In literature people wrote about the age-old four-rank system, but in effect there were only two *varṇas*, viz. Brahmin and Shudra and a third one was later added — the untouchables who however were a sub-rank of the Shudra-*varṇa*. In the 17th century Shivaji was born, a Maratha, belonging to the clan of Bhonsla. The hereditary title of Raja was bestowed on his family by the Muslim kings of Bijapur. He fought successfully against the Muslim rulers of the south and against the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb and was crowned King of Maharashtra. An account dated 1697 of the event runs as follows : "Gagabhat, the man proficient in Vedas hearing of the great deeds of the Raja [Shivaji] came to see him. He, the great Brahmin, thought that if Muslims could sit on a throne and become Padshah, why should not the Raja, who had defeated four Padshahs and possessed seventy-five thousand horse soldiers, also be crowned in a similar way. The Maratha Raja must become a crowned king. The Raja acquiesced in this. So he brought together influential and powerful people who also agreed with the idea. Then he searched after the pedigree of Shivaji and found out that he was a "pure Kshatriya" belonging to the great house of Shisodia. Then he thought that the sacrament of thread ceremony should be performed on Shivaji as was the custom of the northern Kshatriyas. So in a sacred place Shivaji had the thread ceremony performed on him

and was made a pure Kshatriya and then crowned King in the year 1674."²⁸

In this significant document we learn that, in spite of the title of Raja being enjoyed by certain families of the Maratha caste, the caste itself was not recognised as Kshatriya, nor did it go through a ceremony entitling it to be called *dwija*. A search (?) revealed Shivaji to be of Rajput origin. This seems to have been the usual role of Brahmins who raised in this way many Shudra families to Kshatriyahood. The thread ceremony had to be performed first and it may be noted that the Raja was 44 years old at the time it was performed. (Generally it is performed before a boy is 12).

So a particular caste in western Maharashtra, till then supposed to be Shudra, became Kshatriya, and in the society of Maharashtra three *varnas* were established. There was no Vaishya *varna*, whose hereditary occupation was trade and shopkeeping. The poet Tukaram, a contemporary of Shivaji was Maratha-Wani by caste. He called himself Kunbi, i.e. a caste-group belonging to the Shudra *varna*. This system continued upto the British period. After the British were well established, they started recording castes of people and almost from the time the results of the first census were published people of different castes started complaining that their caste name was wrongly described and that the real name was something else. The "real" name always contained a claim to Brahminhood or Kshatriyahood by castes that were generally held to be Shudras. Thus as late as in 1921, the Census Commissioner reported that the Daivadnya Sonar claimed to be Daivadnya Brahmin, that the Panchal Sutar claimed to be Vishwa Brahmin, the Jingar asserted that they should be described as Somavamshi Arya Kshatriya and Patwegars wanted to be called Somavamshi Sahasrarjuna Kshatriya.²⁹

²⁸ *Sabhasada Bakhar*, written in 1697. Edited and published by WAKASKAR at Baroda, 1957.

²⁹ *Census of India*, 1921, Vol. VIII, Part I, Appendix C, p. viii.

• The present author had a similar experience when taking anthropometric measurements and blood groups of different castes. A caste near Bombay called Vadval (market gardeners) styled itself Somavamshi Kshatriya; another caste called Kalan claimed to be Dixit-Brahmin; a man from the Bhavsar caste enquired recently to find out whether it was true that the Bhavsar caste was reckoned as Shudra and not Kshatriya. Members of the Chandraseniya Kayastha caste fought successfully with the Brahmins over this question and established their Kshatriyahood by bringing letters from Kashi Pandits. The Kayasthas of Uttar Pradesh were declared to be Kshatriyas by a decision of the Allahabad High Court, while the Kayasthas of Bengal were declared Shudras by a decision of the Calcutta High Court.³⁰

In the Konkan there is a caste which calls itself Vaishya-Vani. A Vani is a shopkeeper and like Tukaram may belong to a Kunbi-caste. The appellation Vaishya-Vani tells us that this caste claims to belong to the Vaishya *varṇa* (the third) in the four-rank system. A number of very low-ranking castes have started calling themselves "Valmiki". Valmiki, the mythical composer of the Ramayana was, according to popular mythology, a robber belonging to a low caste. The word Valmiki, while not laying any claim to a higher *varṇa*, releases the castes in future from the degradation associated with their old name.

These examples illustrate the hold which the four-rank system has on people's minds. They also give an insight into the relationship between caste and *varṇa*. When people show an inclination to change the caste name, they invariably try to assume names which would put them in a higher *varṇa*.

Government's policy at present is to give preferential treatment to people of the lower, i.e. educationally backward castes and we shall see that this has, to some extent, reversed the urge to be called Kshatriya or Brahmin, but

³⁰ *Maharashtra Dnyanakosha* (Marathi Encyclopaedia) by S. V. KETKAR, article on *Kayastha*.

the old trend is still seen to be working very powerfully. It has been reported to the author in a personal communication, that people of the scheduled castes of Bengal have been paying certain fees to the Registrar to get their family names changed to Chatterji, Banerji, Mukerji, i.e. obviously Brahmanical names.

The Marathas, politically a very conscious group, set up for some time a strong anti-Brahmin front. On the plateau of western Maharashtra there used to be two main agricultural castes — the Maratha and the Kunbi — who were separately enumerated till the census of 1911. In the 1921 census the Kunbi caste had become so small in the districts of western Maharashtra that a combined caption "Maratha and Kunbi" was adopted. In 1945-46, the author, while doing anthropometric work in this area, found no man claiming to be Kunbi. We have seen above that Marathas claim to be Kshatriyas and it was averred by Maratha leaders that Kunbi and Maratha were the same and that the appellation Kunbi should be given up. In western Maharashtra, especially in the districts of the Deccan plateau, this has come to pass, but though unity has been achieved on the political front, as regards marriage, the Marathas marry as a rule only Marathas and not those who were formerly classed as Kunbi.

We thus see that irrespective of the economic situation or influence, there are some traditional values attached to certain ranks and that it is the endeavour of the lower ranks to reach the higher.

The four-*varṇa* system, as mentioned above, is based on the four primary ranks called Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. In Maharashtra the rank called Brahmin includes all the castes which call themselves Brahmin of one sort or another. It is thus made up of one caste-cluster which goes under the name of Brahmin. The rank Kshatriya is made up of Maratha, Kayastha, Khatri and numerous other castes like "Somavamshi Vadval", "Sahasrarjuna-vamshi Kshatriya Patwegar", "Somavamshi Pathare Kshatriya", etc.

• It will be seen that some of the older castes like Maratha and Kayastha do not have the word Kshatriya as part of their caste label. The new claimants all have Kshatriya added to the better known caste names which had belonged to them before claiming the Kshatriya *varṇa*. Secondly even as regards the older ranks of Kshatriya, they were made up of more than one caste-cluster. The same is the case with the rank called Vaishya. The indigenous traders of the plateau used to call themselves Kunbi. In the coastal districts of Maharashtra there is a Marathi-speaking trading caste which calls itself Vaishya-Vani. Other trading castes are of northern origin and retain their northern names, which sometimes have words like Vaishya or Bania as part of their caste names.

The author does not know of any caste in the Shudra *Varṇa*, which uses the word "Shudra" as a part of the caste name. The word "Shudra" has been applied to certain castes for centuries. People other than the Shudras use it while speaking about them; but the castes which are so designated never use it for themselves. They will give their caste name as Kumbhar, Parit, Mahar, etc. The author feels that the '*jāti*' system which allowed innumerable different endogamous groups to live separately is entirely different from the '*varṇa*' system which divided all society into four ranks. The '*jāti*' organization or something very like it was in existence in India for a long time, the author thinks, even prior to the coming in of the Aryans. The '*varṇa*' organization belonged to the society which brought the Vedas to India. It seems native to the Aryan immigrants. In the course of time the *varṇa* system was modified and the *varṇa* and *jāti* systems were interwoven together to form a very elaborate ranking system.

References show that this was a system which had names for two ranks viz. (1) Brahma and (2) Kshatra or Rajanya. The third rank was made up of 'Vis' i.e. all the subjects. From this later on came the (3) 'Vaishya' rank. All these three ranks had common gods and common ritual. To this society a fourth rank was added. This was

(4) Shudra. From the very first this rank had no rights to Aryan ritual.

The fourth rank was made up of a vast population outside the ranks of the conquerors. This large group of people were given a name, but the conquerors did not know much about the internal structure of the fourth rank.

The second peculiarity of this rank is that it contains more caste-clusters than any of the other three ranks. Besides most of the artisan castes mentioned above it also contains caste-clusters following the profession of fishermen, boatmen, shepherds, buffalo-herders, some types of cow-herds, and pig-keepers, as also all those castes which comprise landless tenants or agricultural labourers and some types of farmers. It contains over fifty caste-clusters, each cluster containing from five to over a dozen separate endogamous castes.

In yet another way this *varṇa* is peculiar. The castes labelled "untouchable" also belonged to this *varṇa*. The theoretical equality of castes in a *varṇa* is so disturbed by this that instead of calling the untouchables a part of the fourth *varṇa* in Tamilnad a new *varṇa*, "Panchama" (fifth) was created for these.

Another phenomenon to remember about the *varṇa*-system is that while there was and still is great rivalry among the first three *varṇas* the fourth as a *varṇa* has not figured in it.

Besides the *varṇa*-system, which puts whole caste-clusters together in one rank making four ranks in all, there is in existence another ranking system, which is not written down in detail in ancient records. It was in existence and had been well described by anthropologists (GHURYE, HUTTON, etc.). Some modern anthropologists have noticed and described it in detail for some restricted areas. This ranking system applies to small areas, and is something on which many people in that area agree. There are always some dissenting voices but it is seen in operation at certain times when the people gather together for eating or have to sit together on some other occasion.

In certain studies,³¹ it was seen that at the time of the annual fair at the village temple, everybody in the village is fed at a public feast. All people in the village are given certain tasks to perform on this day. Tasks which are connected with the cooking of the meal, cutting vegetables and bringing water are allotted to people of the higher castes, while tasks like sweeping the temple precincts, bringing fire-wood for cooking, cleaning after meals, are performed by the lower castes. Meals are served by the higher castes to the lower castes. This ranking is found for castes within each *varna* in such a way that while a great number of castes are ranked as belonging to the *varna*, some may be denied the status of belonging to it. A caste may lay claim to a certain social status and call itself by a new name, but while the new name may be accepted by the people around, the status claimed may not be accepted. For example a caste called Daivadnya Sonar in Maharashtra, belonging to the caste-cluster Sonar (goldsmith), has claimed to belong to the Brahmin *varna* by claiming to be Brahmins. This claim has not been accepted by the Brahmin castes. How this claim has affected the standing of this caste among (a) the Sonar caste-cluster; (b) among artisan caste clusters and (c) among Shudras to which the Sonar caste-cluster is reckoned, has not been studied. We shall take up these questions a little later.

³¹ "Intergroup relations in rural communities". I. KARVE and Y. B. DAMLE. Shortly to be published by the Deccan College, Poona.

CHAPTER II

CASTE—A HISTORICAL SURVEY

The description I have given of the caste system does not differ from that given by other anthropologists, but the significance of the various aspects of the system described is different because of what I think is the nature and function of this system.

I have already noted that the Hindu society made up of castes was envisaged by older anthropologists as a society which split into castes according to the occupations taken up by people. It was said that the caste system with its ranking device of the four *varṇas* was a creation of the Brahmins to ensure race purity, or rather the purity of the colour (*varṇa*) of their skin. The caste system was found to have analogies to certain other social systems of the world. It was asserted by Professor GHURYE that in fundamentals it did not differ from the class system of the modern Western societies. It was also stated that there was a time when the numerous castes were not existent, that taboos on inter-caste marriage were not strict and that continuous splitting of larger groups has led to the presence of the enormous number of mutually exclusive castes.

It is this theoretical framework which I feel does not tally with my field experience, nor with ancient records and it is these points and my interpretation of caste as a phenomenon in the total cultural picture that I propose to discuss now.

The word for caste used throughout Sanskrit literature and in Pali, and Jain Prakrit literature was *jāti*. Sometimes, very rarely, the word *yonī* was used and at some places the word *kula*. The word *jāti* is not found in

the oldest literature.¹ The word found there is *varṇa*. The Vedas mention sometimes two *varṇas*, sometimes three *varṇas*. In later hymns a fourth *varṇa* was added. This is the beginning of the four-*varṇa* system.

Varṇa in later classical Sanskrit generally means a colour and so it has been argued that the four-*varṇa* system was based on the distinction of skin colour between the Aryans and the pre-Aryan residents of India. *Varṇa* undoubtedly means colour in later literature, but it is not used in that sense in the Vedas at all. The word *varṇa* means in early sacred literature and in grammatical works a *class*. This is very clear in treatises on grammar. The various consonants are arranged according to the place of origin in the throat and mouth and called *kanṭhya*, *oṣṭhya* (guttural, labial), etc. Also the alphabet in a given order is called the *varṇa-mala* a garland of *varṇas*. The *varṇa* thus suggests not only a class, but an order of precedence. The word *varṇa*, when used for describing human society also means class in a particular order.

¹ See footnote 10, p. 53.

Below is given the translation of a passage from *Chhāndogya Upanishad* (ca. 400 to 500 B.C.) which is interesting because the doctrine is similar to one developed much later. Only, the word used here is *yoni* :

Those who behave in a pleasing way and eat pleasant things get into a pleasing *yoni* like Brahmani-*yoni* or Vaishya-*yoni* or Kshatriya-*yoni*. Those however who behave (or work) in a filthy (evil smelling) manner and eat such things get into a filthy *yoni* like horse-*yoni* or pig-*yoni* or Chandala-*yoni*.

This passage enunciates the doctrine of rebirth and the dependence of the type of birth on the type of actions and food. (Cf. *Bhagavadgītā* — 7.21, 22, 23; 17.3, 8, 9, 10).

It is obvious that Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya on the one hand and horse, pig and *chandala* on the other are comparable categories according to the author of this passage. *Chandala* is the name of a low caste, the members of which were supposed to be untouchables. '*Yoni*' has thus the sense of biological as well as sociological classes. We find that '*jāti*' and '*kula*' have also been used in the same sense. In this passage instead of using the more generic *varṇa*-term, Shudra as opposed to Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya, the lowest of many *jātis*, namely *chandala* is mentioned.

Foisting a later meaning of the word in contexts where that meaning was not known, creates a wrong idea. This type of reasoning based on new interpretations of old words is found in other places too in classical literature.²

The word *varṇa* is used in two different ways in the Vedic literature. Sometimes two *varṇas* are mentioned as *Arya-varṇa* and *Dasa-varṇa*, the Arya class and the Dasa class. In this expression the new immigrant Aryas are contrasted to the old population, Dasa.³ More often the two *varṇas* mentioned are *Brahma* (Brahmins) and *Rajanya* or *Kshatra* (Kshatriyas). Both these were within the Arya society and so the reference cannot possibly be to the skin colour. Whenever the three *varṇas* of the Aryan society were mentioned, the third was called *vish*.⁴ The meaning of the word "*vish*" is "all", "the multitude". They were the commoners over whom the king ruled. This becomes clear in the expression for king, *visham-pati*, which means the master (*pati*) of the *vish* (the word is used in the plural to suggest the human multitude.)

In a sense then there were only two *varṇas*, which were lifted out of the multitude, which had special designations and they were the Brahmin, the magician-priests —

² The words *rajan* and *kshatriya*

³ The word *Dasa* from later Vedic period came to mean "a slave". The historical analogy here is to the word "Slav" for eastern Europeans.

⁴ The above words were those used in the Vedas. The word for the Brahmin caste creates a good deal of confusion in the minds of readers not acquainted with Sanskrit literature and pronunciation. There is a *varṇa* called *Brahma* or *Brahmana*; there is a group of sacred books also called *Brahmana* (neuter gender); and there is a personified god, the creator, called *Brahman* (masculine gender). In order to avoid confusion as far as possible I have adopted the following scheme: The *varṇa* and the caste-cluster is spelled with the English spelling *Brahmin*; the sacred books are written *Brahmana* ('s); the Ultimate Truth is written as *Brahman* (neuter gender, of which the nominative singular is *Brahma*); the god is written as *Brahma*, (which is the nominative singular of *Brahman* masculine gender).

(the great ones) — and the Rajanya, the nobles and kings — (the shining ones).

It is wrong to suppose that the *varṇa* system arose out of a consciousness of racial distinctions as indicated by skin colour.⁵ The Aryan world was made up of the three classes of priests, nobles and commoners. All the people worshipped the same gods and underwent the same rituals from birth to death. One such ritual was the initiation ceremony, called the investiture with the sacred thread,⁶ which involved a magical performance imitating birth.⁷

The Aryans came into contact with the conquered non-Aryan masses, and made a place for them which was the lowest *varṇa*. This was called Shudra.⁸ In a late hymn the Shudras are envisaged as having arisen from the feet of the First Being and so assigned to menial work. The Shudras had no right to the Aryan ritual, could never perform the rites to become *dwija*.⁹

This in short is the *varṇa* system of the Aryas. The *jātis* are described for the first time in a compilation called *Manusmṛti*,¹⁰ which is ascribed to the mythical first

⁵ The word *varṇa* may be derived from *vr*, to choose. *Varṇa* are the chosen ones, while everybody else is *vish*, i.e. the multitude. Out of these, the two, the Brahmin and the Rajanya have special designations, they are lifted out as the 'chosen' ones. According to Dr. S. M. KATRE, it may also be traced to the root *vr* = to cover, which semantically indicates an act of separation and consequently of choosing or selecting.

⁶ The Parsees, who follow the old Iranian religion, akin to the Aryan religion, also have such a ceremony, for both men and women.

⁷ Everyone who underwent this ceremony was called *dwija*, the twice-born. In later times this ceremony came to be performed predominantly by Brahmins only and so they alone came to be called *dwija*.

⁸ The meaning of the word and its etymology are not certain. Perhaps like *dasa*, it was a tribal name, which came to stand for the lowest rank.

⁹ In the attempts of the castes to rise higher, the claim to perform the thread ceremony came first.

¹⁰ The Indian literary tradition is as follows :—The oldest texts are called in English the Vedic literature. This consists of (1) the four Vedas and (2) the Brahmanas with their Upanishads. The

king Manu. In this book Manu describes the origin and the rise of *jātis* in the following manner.

He starts with four *varṇas* as something given or primary and derives all castes as being due to mixtures of these pure *varṇas*. Let us take the letters Bb, Kk, Vv, and Ss to stand for Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra males and females respectively. When a Brahmin man marries a woman from any of the three other *varṇas*,

four Vedas are books of hymns containing prayers and supplications, magic incantations and a few verses of philosophical import. The R̥gveda is supposed to be the oldest. The Samaveda which is a book of songs comes next. Yajurveda which in its older form is made up of instructions in prose about sacrifices and hymns is supposed to be next and Atharvaveda, a book of magic incantations and philosophical doctrines, is supposed to be the last. The four books contain a lot of material which is common and considered anthropologically they appear to belong together. The Atharvaveda which contains very old magic and medicine has certain verses which Prof. Lüders compared, in his lectures given in the University of Berlin and attended by the author, to old Germanic magical incantations. The four books seem to contain the old Aryan cultural capital of religion, song, magic and medicine. This apparently was all mixed together. Indian tradition says that a wise sage took in hand this material and brought order into it and made it into the four Vedas as above.

The Brahmanas are prose books, mainly manuals to be used at the time of different sacrifices. They contain myths, parables, philological speculations and also books within books called Upanishads. These latter are purely philosophical speculations about god and the ultimate reality, rebirth, etc.

This literature traditionally is purely orthodox (Sanātana) literature though one finds in it definite beginnings of later schisms and dissensions leading to Buddhism and Jainism.

After Upanishads the literature is vast and varied. Some of it is religious, some in the form of folk-tales, some epical, poetry and drama and a great number of commentaries on religious literature. Although the three doctrines, viz. the Orthodox, the Buddhist and the Jain have separate literary and philosophical traditions, each borrows heavily from and gives much to the other two.

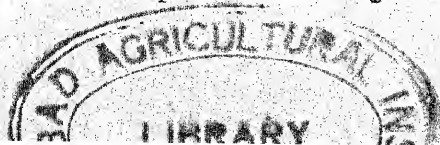
The religious tradition of the orthodoxy is called variously Sanātana, Vaidic, Brahmanic and lastly Hindu. Its 'Śruti' means that which is 'heard'. This is the revealed literature consisting

there will be three castes (Bk, Bv and Bs); a Kshatriya marrying a woman of the two lower *varṇas* will give two new castes (Kv and Ks) and similarly a Vaishya marrying a Shudra woman will give one more caste (Vs). Thus six castes emerge by a man of a higher *varṇa* marrying a woman of a lower *varṇa*. Similarly if a man of a lower *varṇa* marries a woman of a higher *varṇa*, we shall have six more castes (Kb, Vb, Vk, Sb, Sk and Sv). The first type of marriage, though not favoured as the best practice, was however allowed as not being too bad, and was called *anuloma*¹¹ marriage, i.e., marriage of a man of a higher

of the Vedas and Brahmanas and Upanishads. 'Smṛti' is that which is 'remembered' and consists of over a dozen books the first supposed to be composed by 'Manu' the first king and later by various sages. The Smṛti books are called in English "law-books" and Manu's Smṛti is called "the code of Manu". This has created confusion. At no time was any Smṛti given the sanction of any political authority. There were in existence always more than one Smṛti. Any point before the ancient judges could be disputed according to different Smṛtis. Smṛtis differed in many vital points. Smṛtis enunciated principles of behaviour which went against ancient practices. One Smṛti disputed what another had said and lastly among rules of behaviour there was always a chapter called "Kali-varjya-Prakaraṇam" which told of practices not allowed in this present Kali-age. This disposed of practices like beef-eating, begetting children on one's wife from a stranger or from a brother of the husband. These were mentioned as behaviours of ancient kings and sages but were no longer respectable. Smṛtis were never 'law'. They were a record of 'good practices'.

This did not exhaust authorities considered as norms of some kind. 'Vṛddhāchāra' means "the behaviour of the elders". This principle is not written down at all and consists of the behaviour of those considered as elders and leaders in a society. This has been a 'common sense' principle found in many didactic poems and also in Bhagavadgītā. Shri Krishna says in Bhagavadgītā (Bhag. 3rd canto, verses 22, 23 and 24). "I have nothing which has got to be done. I have nothing which I have not obtained. Still, I go on behaving as others as if I had goals to attain. People who follow my example everywhere would come to perish if I did not keep active as I am doing now."

¹¹ "In the direction of hair-growth". If one strokes an animal in such a direction it is tolerated but if one does it in the other direction, the hair is rumped. The animal gets angry.



status to a woman of a lower status. This is what is called hypergamy. The second type of mating was called *pratiloma*¹² and was frowned upon. The status of the first six hybrid castes was higher than the second group of six castes. These twelve represented the first crosses. From the four *varṇas* by just two crossings one gets a total of 204 castes as follows :

(1) <i>Anuloma</i> and <i>pratiloma</i> castes after first crossing	12
(2) Crossing of six <i>anuloma</i> castes among themselves	15
(3) The same with man and woman in the reverse order	15
(4) Crossing of the original four <i>varṇas</i> with six <i>anuloma</i> and six <i>pratiloma</i> castes	48
(5) Crossing of six <i>pratiloma</i> castes among themselves and with the four <i>varṇas</i> , i.e. same as (2), (3), (4)	78
(6) Inter-crossing between the six <i>anuloma</i> and six <i>pratiloma</i> castes	36
Total	204

Manu gives names of some castes and their status too, depending upon who the father and the mother of the person were. He however was not able to name each of the above crosses.¹³ It is known that new castes have arisen out of a mixture of two castes and holding an intermediate position, but the number of such castes is very small and this explanation of Manu does not seem to be based on inquiry and observation but rather on the position of bastards in the courts of the kings and a flare for mathematical speculation, for which Indians were well-known in ancient times.

This account makes it probable that the Aryans did not have *jāti*, but still there might have been castes in India. The guess is strengthened by the treatment of caste by Manu. The Vedic literature consists of hymns, ritual,

¹² Against the direction in which the hair grows.

¹³ *Manu-Smṛiti*, Canto 10, in the original or "Laws of Manu" by G. BUHLER, pp. 401-430, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1886.

sacrificial procedures and philosophical speculations. The references to *varṇa* are also very few. But Manu's book is a manual dealing with the daily life of the people, the rights and duties of different groups, instructions to a king about how to rule, etc. Here Manu has to take account of *jāti*, but he wants to bring this phenomenon into the sphere of the structure known to him and which is reported in books which are sacred to him, viz. *varṇa*. He therefore gives a very artificial etiology to explain the existence of castes. He did not say that castes arose out of occupational specialization; he resorted to the mathematical device of permutation and combination to derive all the castes. A man brought up in the traditions of the Aryans attempted to account for a type of grouping not understood by him and tried to interpret the phenomenon in the light of his experience.

It is probable that something very like castes were in India even before the Aryans came and the Aryans as a conquering people placed their three *varṇas* at the head of the whole indigenous society. In this process a number of indigenous elements were incorporated into the known *varṇas*. Brahmins were recruiting their ranks; the Kshatriyas gladly contracted marriages with princesses of reigning non-Aryan houses; and the Vish, from their original position as the toiling masses, were themselves emerging as a wealthy class owning slaves. Bhagavad-gita, which is a part of the epic Mahabharata, still enumerated the duties of different *varṇas* in old terms. Learning was the duty of the Brahmins; ruling and fighting bravely that of the Kshatriyas; tending of cattle, farming the land and engaging in trade was the work of the Vaishya (Vedic Vish) and serving all these three that of the Shudras.

In the early Buddhist literature the Vaishya emerges as the wealthy merchant. The cowherd and the farmer are looked down upon. This transformation of the Aryan Vish from a toiling commoner to a wealthy merchant class shows the new adjustment to a new social situation presented by a mass of conquered people readily available for all hard and menial work.

In India each caste at present has a separate living area. This was the case in ancient India also if one takes into account the oldest records which describe cities and villages. These are the story literature in Prakrit of the Buddhists and the Jains.¹⁴ This literature presents a picture of how people, commoners, merchants, kings and priests lived in ancient India. The picture is that of a full-fledged caste-society with different parts of the cities allotted to different castes.

Archaeologists hold that the semi-nomadic pastoral Vedic Aryans destroyed the Indus civilization and possibly also the city of Harappa.¹⁵ In the excavations of Harappa a whole street was found with stone mortars, where cereals, perhaps rice, were either husked or pounded into flour. The western archaeologists have called it the slave quarters, or places of government enterprise where slaves pounded cereals.¹⁶ That scores of "mortars" were found in one "street" is a fact. The rest is conjecture. I venture to give an alternative conjecture. Probably it was a street lived in by a caste-like group, who specialized in pounding rice.

Be this as it may, looking at the Sanskrit record itself we have no evidence that caste was "created" by race-conscious Brahmins. It appears as if the Aryans came upon the phenomenon of caste and fitted it into a scheme known to them. The union of *varṇa* and *jāti* is a matter of fusion of two systems from two cultures.

If *jātis* had existed since pre-Aryan times and if they were not an Aryan invention, how could they have been formed? We have absolutely no ancient records to guide us, but certain analogies of this institution with others may give a clue. Also the processes of caste-making were going on throughout history and are happening even at present. A study of these may possibly give us an insight into the process.

¹⁴ See passages quoted in the appendix.

¹⁵ Stuart Piggot — *Pre-historic India*. Chap. VI & VII, in the Pelican Book series — 1950.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

• Endogamy, a region of spread and an internal agency for social control are features in which a caste has similarity with a tribe. The tribal area of a tribe is generally exclusive to a tribe. There are, however, examples of multi-tribal tracts and multi-tribal villages in certain areas of Africa. I have pointed out in a study¹⁷ how each village has its habitation area divided sometimes sharply and sometimes roughly into areas of different castes. Again within a caste-area there are divisions according to lineages and clans. Thus a caste is, in its most important features, a tribe-like group. Even the hierarchy, which is found among castes is found in certain multi-tribal areas. In Africa, the Ruanda-Urundi area is shared by three tribes. The Watutsi are the rulers and conquerors, the Bahutu are workers on land, are the conquered people and represent the serfs, while the Batwas are pigmies and live in the nearby forests and hold a position between the two other tribes.

We have also multi-tribal tracts in Rhodesia and East Africa where each tribe seems to specialize in one or more crafts. On market days, people from each tribe bring goods for which they are known. Some bring bark-cloth, some woven cotton-cloth, some pottery, and some are specialists in wooden vessels. As regards agricultural produce, there seems to be some little specialization too. Similar markets are held in the multi-caste and multi-tribal forest areas of Andhra and Orissa in India and each caste and each tribe brings the things for which they are known. The mode of tribal intercourse is also peripheral and tangential as in the case of castes. Like castes again the tribes occupying the same region may or may not be of the same racial origin. In the case of the Ruanda-Urundi area, the three-tribe society is made up of three races; in other parts of Africa tribes belonging to the same race live separately in the same area. This is especially the case in the very populated regions of Rhodesia. In the forested regions of India we have similar cases too. In the Nilgiris

¹⁷ The structure of an Indian Village, *Deccan College Bulletin*, 1958.

the Toda, the Badaga and the Kota live as separate tribes with specialized occupations. The Toda are racially different from the Kota and the Badaga. The latter two seem to be racially similar. In Orissa Gond, Koya, Bhatra, Saora and Porja come to the same markets. Each is a separate endogamous tribe, not a separate race.

Castes over a wide area may not show much racial difference, whatever the status of the different castes. On the other hand castes living side by side, following identical professions and bearing the same name as applied to a caste-cluster, may show great physical differences. That castes following the same profession and living in the same large linguistic region may belong to different racial stocks, was recognized by anthropologists. But on the other hand, it was also said by Sir Herbert RISLEY that within an area like e.g. the Punjab, all castes were physically nearer to each other than to any other caste in the neighbouring region. This argument implies that castes arose in a homogeneous population through fission following occupational specialization. Then again, while Dr. GHURYE concedes this for the Punjab, he does not think that it is true for other regions where, according to him, caste formation and ranking was due to an effort of the Brahmins to maintain racial purity. In the quotation given previously he uses a very curious word with reference to Brahmins. He calls them "prospectors".¹⁸ What the Brahmins were prospecting for one does not know. In any case we have here two separate or simultaneous etiologies of caste, one based on fission and the other on a desire for racial purity. It has been shown in recent work that castes occupying the same rank in the same region are not necessarily similar in physical appearance and measurements, nor do castes occupying different levels in the social status show necessarily physical differences.¹⁹

It is here that the analogy of a multi-tribal society becomes fruitful. Different units live separately in endo-

¹⁸ Was it the influence of the school of ELLIOT & PERRY?

¹⁹ KARVE and DANDEKAR, loc. cit.

gamous, semi-autonomous cells in such societies. Such units are tribes, or rather, parts of great tribes. Each part in its wandering separates from the great tribe and finds itself accommodating to new neighbours. There is no political pressure to amalgamate. Such tribal units might mingle to form newer, larger units or may remain separate.

The argument about the tribe-like separateness of castes does not rest on racial separateness. Tribes in an area can belong to the same racial stock and yet keep themselves separate. In Africa, Australia, America, Asia, in the primitive regions of India, there are separate tribes which belong to the same racial stock, but which occupy the same region and speak the same language or, sometimes, languages belonging to the same family. In historical times we have examples of the Germanic tribes called the Goths, the Saxons, the Angles, etc. Anthropologists do not talk in terms of fission or segmentation of a single unit when mentioning the present tribal populations or the tribe or peoples referred to in history. There are examples of a few castes which have been formed by fission, but castes in general are not so formed and are as independent and separate as tribes are. This separateness is sometimes seen in deep-going differences in the patterns of social behaviour, sometimes in cultural-historical traditions and sometimes in physical differences. There is no one instrument of analysis fine enough or comprehensive enough to demonstrate the separateness in all cases.

An illustration would make my meaning clear. A linguistic region with its many castes is not comparable to one picture cut into different pieces as in a jig-saw puzzle. A caste-cluster made up of various castes following similar professions (e.g. Kumbhar = potters, Sonar = goldsmiths, etc.) and known by one term is also not a jig-saw puzzle. The region with its many castes, as also a caste-cluster with its many castes, are more like a patch-work quilt where even the patches, which have similar colour and shape, may have different origins. The red patches may look similar, but one may be a piece of a bed-

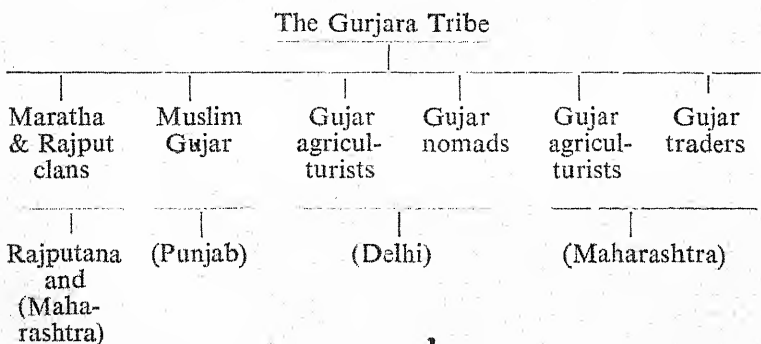
spread, another of an old curtain, a third from a shirt, a fourth from a blouse, and so on. Also all the pieces making together one quilt at a particular time may have been incorporated into the quilt at different times. Just as the original sources of the pieces are different, so also the time of their incorporation may be different.

In order to make this analogy applicable to the Hindu society it will be necessary to show that castes within a caste-cluster are of different origins and that a number of them have come into a region at different times. It will also be necessary to demonstrate the original entity out of which a piece in the patchwork has come, that the bed-spread, the shirt, etc., existed at one time and that pieces of it can be traced elsewhere. This demonstration for all castes of a region is impossible; for even a few castes it is, if not impossible, extremely difficult. A long programme of systematic work may solve some problems, but those that require historical research are indeed really difficult in a land and in a society which has been well known for its lack of historical records. I give below a few examples known to me. Some are well established, some are conjectures based on epigraphical and literary records.

Some time about the 7th or 8th century a tribe or a group of tribes from Central Asia came into India. They succeeded in founding an empire called by the present day historians the Empire of the Gurjara Pratihara. Gurjara was apparently the Sanskritised name of the tribe. Pratihara was possibly the name (also Sanskritised) of some clans or families. It is not clear what it meant. The Gurjara empire vanished about the 12th century. The empire extended from Kanoj (in western U.P.) to Punjab and southwards towards Gujarat. There are three areas, which are supposed to have been called after the tribe. There are two districts in the Punjab called Gujranwala and Gujarat and one province (now the separate state) called Gujarat, to the north of Maharashtra. Endogamous groups calling themselves Gujar are spread today from the Punjab to Maharashtra. In the sub-Himalayan region there are Muslim Gujars, who herd buffaloes. In the

Delhi region, there are Gujars who till land, there is also another caste called Gujar, which has lived as a poor nomadic people since the days of Emperor Akbar. In northern Maharashtra there are farmers who call themselves Gujars and among whom the author found a clan name Padhyar, obviously derived from Pratihara. Among Rajputs there is a Gujar clan and there is in Maharashtra a Jain caste called Gujar, who are traders. Among the Marathas too there is a Gujar clan.

One cannot be sure that all those who call themselves Gujar are derived from the Gurjara tribe, but a number may be so derived, when one takes into consideration the extent of the medieval empire and the regions in which the Gujar castes are found. A tribe dispersed over a large area in four linguistic regions. In most regions it kept itself as a separate entity, took up different occupations and fitted itself into the caste hierarchy on different rungs. This process can be roughly illustrated as follows :



None of these castes know of the Gurjara Pratihara empire or are aware of the existence of the other castes. The nomads are low down in the caste ranking. The agriculturists are much higher, but according to the *varṇa* scheme of ranking, they are Shudras. The traders rank higher and would be in the *Vaiśya varṇa*. Those Gujars who have merged into the Rajputs may be said to have reached the Kshatriya ranking.

The Gurjars have thus entered into the caste society of four different linguistic regions in different ways and at different levels.²⁰

While we have here an example of a tribe spreading over wide areas and taking up different positions in each area and remaining as a separate entity, there are also examples of mingling. The probable absorption of a part of the Gurjara tribe into Rajput and Maratha castes has been referred to above. If one takes into account the clan names among Rajputs and Marathas this becomes quite evident. The name Chauhan, written in earlier records as Chahumana is probably of Central Asiatic origin — perhaps belonging to the Huns. A Hun king Toramana once ruled in Northern India. Another name, Paramara also seems to be of Central Asiatic origin. According to Rajput traditions, while other clans trace their origin from the sun and the moon, these two clans are supposed to have arisen out of fire. Even Brahmins apparently could not succeed in tracing them back to the traditional sun-moon origins.

Marathas show a bewildering variety of clan names. Some are of Rajput origin (Chavan, Pavar, etc.) some are names of extinct Maharashtra dynasties (Kadam, Sinde, etc.), some are from extinct dynasties from Andhra (Kakade — from Kakatiya of Andhra?) and some are purely totemistic (Kurahade — the axe, Kudale — the pick-axe, Landge — the wolf, etc.). Thus the Marathas though forming one caste, show a mixture of different tribes.²¹

Each of the Brahmin castes in Maharashtra is very probably of a different origin and this has already been indicated above. It was also shown how the period of their habitation in Maharashtra might be different. A similar case was made out for the difference in origins of the vari-

²⁰ Some castes which have the word *Gujar* as a part of their name may not be derived from the "Gujar" tribes at all, but may have taken up the word for the sake of social prestige.

²¹ Racially however they seem to be similar.

ous Kumbhar castes. It was indicated that some of the agricultural castes were of tribal origin.

The process of caste-making has not stopped. New castes are coming into being even in the present age, as the following example will show.

This is from a tribe called Savara (Sanskrit Shabara) in Orissa and Andhra. This tribe is spread from the northern Andhra districts of Vishakhapatnam and Sriakulam to northern Orissa (north of Cuttack). In each jungle area they are an endogamous group. Marriages are not known outside of the immediate neighbourhood, which may extend to a hundred square miles. The Savara area is cut up by rivers, jungles and mountains. The people in the south do not know of the existence of the people in the north. The southern Savara are a primitive tribe, who live independently of the others in their jungle villages. They come occasionally to the jungle markets where they meet other jungle tribes and agricultural peoples and exchange of goods takes place. In Orissa, round about Lake Chilka I found that the Savaras came regularly to the weekly market held in a coastal village and sold firewood. The village communities were dependent on the Savara for firewood and the Savaras bought some food, cloth and pots in the market. Still they kept to their jungles. Further northwards I found that the city of Cuttack was also dependent on Savaras for firewood. The Savaras were settled in the villages round Cuttack, had become a village folk and a specialized caste and either went into the jungles to cut wood or bought it from other jungle tribes.

The process by which tribes spread over very large areas and lose contact with the parent body is found all over the world. Such a process populated all the continents of the world long before the neolithic age. Such a process has been well studied in the spread of the northern Germanic tribes in the early Christian centuries and with reference to the Bantu-speaking tribes of Africa. In Europe, tribes and parts of tribes, as they spread, amalgamated with others to form larger units. In Africa on the

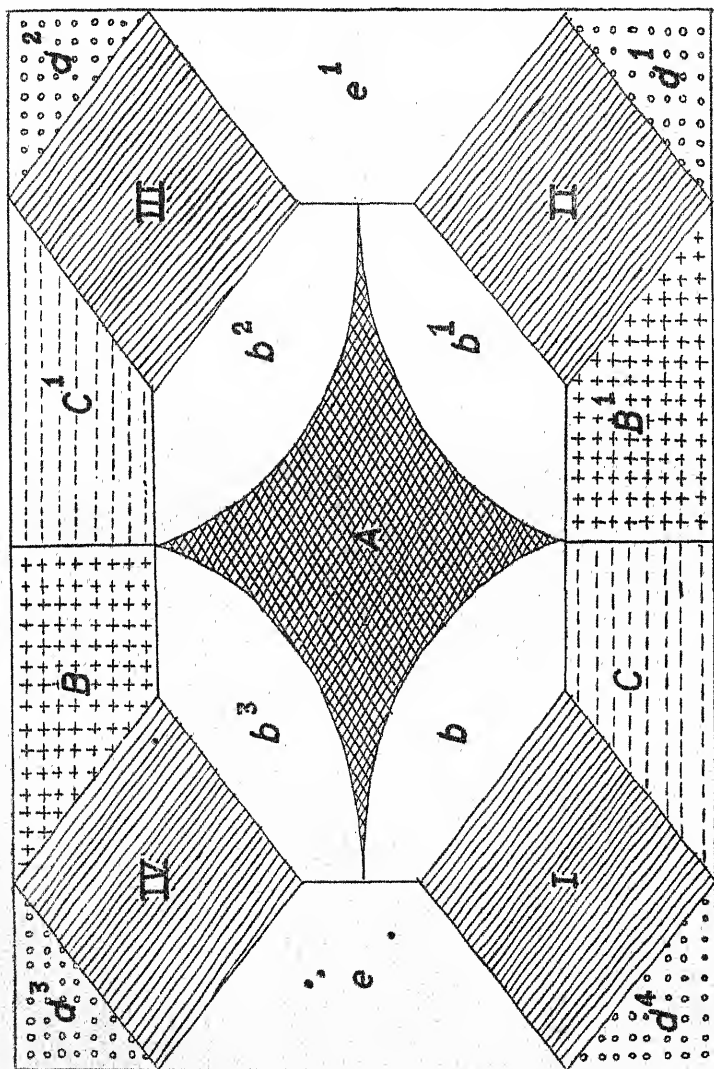
other hand many tribes have retained their identity and separateness, so that one finds a number of tribes in a relatively small area. These are the many multi-tribal areas in Africa. India is counted among the ancient civilized nations and yet it also retained this separateness of spreading and wandering units as they settled into each area. These are the castes.

There are over two thousand castes in India at present. There are about two hundred castes in each linguistic region of India. My contention that a caste in each linguistic region is separate from the other castes and was so for centuries, does not mean that there were two thousand separate entities to start with. There were in India tribal groups, as also different races. They spread over the sub-continent, but instead of amalgamating with others to make bigger groups, each retained its separateness. The names of many of these groups are recorded in India's literature. The names of a few only need be mentioned here. They are, Arya, Kushan, Shaka, Gurjara, Naga, Dasa, Shabara, Malla and a hundred others. Some came as immigrants, others are mentioned as living in India when the immigrants arrived. One hears names of different tribal groups in the protohistory of modern Europe also, but they wandered and merged with other folks and tribes. In India tribes and peoples could merge with others if they wanted. They could also live separately for an indefinite period if they so wished.

In the two diagrams 1 and 2 the idea of how a caste society is made is illustrated by the analogy of the patchwork quilt. Only a few castes have been shown in the diagram.

In diagram 1 : I, II, III, IV^f are Brahmin castes, each in a slightly separate area, each with different physical measurements and each probably inhabiting Maharashtra for different lengths of time, varying from 2000 years to perhaps 600 years. The centre piece is the great Maratha caste, which is made up of elements from central Asiatic tribes, Rajput clans, ruling dynasties of 2000 to 1000 years ago, elements from Dravidian-speaking peoples of Andhra

Diagram - 1



and Karnatak and lastly perhaps some primitive tribes. d , d^1 , d^2 , d^3 are Kumbhar (potter) castes, each of different origin: one from Gujarat, another from the Gangetic plain, a third from Andhra, a fourth apparently of local origin.

Diagram-2

B and B¹ represent the eastern and western Mahars. Apparently the eastern Mahars possess sickle cells, the western Mahars have shown none so far. C and C¹ are Chambhar (shoe-maker) castes. One claims a northern origin and has northern customs, the second is from Karnataka. e and e¹ are Sonar (goldsmith) castes. One claims a Gujarat (Lata) origin. The other has been in residence in Maharashtra for a long time, claims to be

astrologers and Brahmins. Similarly, all the other castes in the region could be represented in the diagram, although I have not done that here in order not to make it too complicated.

Diagram 2 shows the location of some of the castes which call themselves Gujar represented as a, a¹, a² etc.

I have given so many references from old literature and suggested an alternative explanation of something found in Harappa to indicate some of the reasons for my second proposition, which is that groups living apart and organized into a caste-like structure seem to have existed for a very long time in India, were there before the Aryans came and persisted up to the present. At the very beginning I pointed out that living in spatial contiguity but in comparative social separateness is a trait of tribal societies. But no tribal society in the world has as many cells within it as the Indian society.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

The extracts given below are from the literature other than the Smritis. Long before the 10th century caste was a well described phenomenon in Hindu society. I have quoted some references *in extenso* because they show that the mental processes revealed are those of a society in which castes with their taboo on exogamy, with hierarchy and with ideas of pollution were firmly rooted.

My first reference is from a book called *Vasudeva Hindi* (the wanderings of Vasudeva). This is supposed to have been composed some time during the sixth or seventh century A.D. Vasudeva is a prince of Kshatriya origin. During the course of his wanderings he married a girl of a Vaishya caste. One day while his bride had gone to worship at a temple, he amused himself by looking on and listening to dances and singing by young boys and girls of the city. When the dancing and singing troupe saw him, they sang a song which ran as follows : "There is a big forest. The merchants are afraid to go through it because a huge fierce lion lives there. Some merchants who were compelled to cross it in order to reach a large city decided that they would keep a constant watch with drawn swords while going through the forest. As they went through the forest, they suddenly saw the big lion coming towards them on the forest path. They all stopped, ready to defend themselves. As the lion came slowly along the path a pretty female fox came to him and he mated with her. When the merchants saw this, they all laughed and feared no longer. They said, "That cannot be a lion when he mates with a fox." Vasudeva heard the song and knew that it was aimed at him and so he went into the street and scolded the troupe.

This particular union was between a Kshatriya man (Vasudeva) and a girl of the Vaishya caste, i.e., one im-

mediately below him in the *varṇa* status. This type of marriage was allowed by Manu and ancient usage, but the story shows that the popular attitude reflects the caste sentiments of today. Marriage outside the caste was not tolerated. In another story the same Vasudeva is shown to have mated with a girl who was supposed to belong to an untouchable caste. It turned out later that she was really not an untouchable but somebody else. These stories are of special interest to students of society. Vasudeva obviously is a popular hero. He journeyed far and wide. Each change of place involved him in an adventure with fabulous birds and beasts or demons or thieves. He comes out successful always with a marriage or two at the end. Physically he does things not possible for an ordinary man. On the mental level, he is a very clever man, solves riddles that baffle other men, plays dice better than others, plays and understands music as nobody can. On the social level also he does things that others cannot do. As a prince it is his privilege to marry any commoner. That is what he does when he marries Bandhumati, the daughter of a merchant. He is made slightly ridiculous. The society cannot however stand his mating with an untouchable girl. He does it and ultimately that girl turns out not to be an untouchable at all.

The other examples are from a story book called *Panchtantra*.²² In one story, a man (*Gorambho Raja-sevakas*) who is called a cleaner (*Grihasammarjanakas*) and who apparently cleaned the king's palace, was driven out from a house because he occupied a place reserved for Brahmins. A verse says: "A mean man is turned against you by the slightest ill-turn, just as the Brahmins are polluted by the slightest thing." The same book also shows that as soon as a man becomes a Sanyasin, he is outside the pale of the caste society and could accept food and shelter from anybody.

The same book has two stories, which show that caste sentiments were the same as those after 1000 A.D. The

²² KIELHORN'S edition, p. 22, line 5.

first is a well known story but needs to be told in this context. "There was a potter. Once when he was drunk, he fell down on potsherds, hitting his forehead against a sharp broken piece. His forehead had a big gash, which took a long time to heal (owing to his bad diet). It left a deep red scar. There came a great famine and this potter together with other people went to another kingdom. The king saw this hefty man and thought, here indeed was a great warrior who faced his enemies squarely, as the big gash on his forehead showed. The king gave him much money and employed him in a very high rank in his army. Once the kingdom was invaded by an enemy and warriors were going out to give battle. At that time the king asked the potter as to how he happened to get the gash in the forehead. The potter told the truth. The king was both enraged and ashamed at his folly, and wanted to drive away the potter. The potter begged the king to give him a chance to show the king his prowess in war. The king declined and told the following story : 'A lion while hunting' once came upon a fox cub, but it was so small that he pitied it and brought it to his wife, who had two cubs of her own. The three cubs were nursed by the lioness and grew up together. One day, while playing together, they saw an elephant pass. The lion cubs, seeing the hereditary enemy, roared and lashed their tails and were going to attack. The fox was afraid, dissuaded the lion cubs from doing such a foolhardy thing and ran home, followed by the other two cubs. They all told this incident to their mother, who got the fox cub aside, told him who he really was, and said, "Son, you are brave, you have learned all there is to learn; you are also handsome, but in your line big game is not killed. Go away before my sons realize who you are." After telling this story, the king drove away the potter.

The third series of references is found in a Sanskrit drama called *Mudra-Rakshasa*. It tells the story of how Chanakya, a Brahmin, killed all the men of the reigning house of Nanda, put Chandragupta Maurya on the throne and succeeded in getting Rakshasa, the minister of the

Nandas to become the chief minister of Chandragupta. The play is supposed to have been written during or before the fifth century A.D. Some think that it was written a few centuries before Christ.

In the very first act, a man is mentioned as Kayastha and his profession is that of a professional writer. His writing is supposed to be beautiful and legible as against that of Brahmins versed in Shrouta-Karma. Terms of contempt are used for him saying "A Kayastha after all is of no consequence." Here a caste is mentioned, which has been well known in India as a caste of writers. People of this caste were always employed by kings and courtiers, were valued as loyal servants and have always held a position lower than that of the Kshatriyas. This passage also mentions another fact about the caste. A Brahmin was learned, as he knew by heart a dozen texts. He could read and also knew all the rules of grammar, but his writing was always primitive. There is a saying in Sanskrit *yā vidyā sā kanthagatā* meaning, knowledge is that which is on your tongue. Right into the Peshwa times, i.e. into the 19th century, Brahmins lived up to this ideal. The Councillor of the Peshwas was a very holy Brahmin known for his learning and piety. I had recently the opportunity to see his handwriting and it was like that of a first-form child, which has just learned to write. The importance of this reference is that we have here a caste which has a name which does not mean anything in Sanskrit. The meaning of the word "kayastha" is obscure. The occupation of the group as writers is however well known. We have thus a true caste. The difficulty as regards many other castes is that the caste name reveals the occupation and one cannot conclusively prove that the reference is to a "caste" and not just to an occupational group. However, I feel that all such references are to occupational castes.

In the same drama in the seventh act, Rakshasa begs Chanakya not to embrace him, because he had been polluted by the touch of two Chandals (the executioners). Further, in the same drama, one notices again and again,

that men of high caste sat on a higher seat, while those of the lower castes sat on the bare ground.

The third set of references are from *Dhammapada Attha Katha* supposed to have been written by Buddhaghōṣa about 400 A.D. The stories themselves seem to be of a much older origin. One purports to be the story of what actually happened to the clan of the Buddha. It is thus a narrative of events which happened in the seventh century B.C. The other stories reflect the usage of Buddhaghōṣa's time, and, we can also assume, of a few centuries earlier.

The name of the king who ruled the kingdom of Kosala in the days of Buddha was Pasenadi. Buddha used to live many times near the capital city and was often visited by king Pasenadi. The king however had the feeling that neither Buddha nor his followers showed sufficient trust in him, nor affection for him. One day he thought that if he married into the Buddha clan, then he would become a relative and so Buddha would love him. With the object of securing a suitable bride, he sent his messengers to the kingdom of the Sakyas and demanded that a girl of the Sakya clan be given to him as a bride. The Sakyas were rated as Kshatriyas. The king of Kosala was not a Kshatriya but was a very powerful king and could not be denied. King Mahanama, the cousin of Buddha, had a daughter called Vasabhakhattiya born of a maid named Nagamunda. It was decided to give this bastard girl to Pasenadi. Accordingly word was sent to Pasenadi that the daughter of Mahanama, the son of Buddha's father's brother would be given to him. Pasenadi was pleased, but suspected some trick and said to his messengers: "Be very careful. These Kshatriyas are very proud and very cunning. They may palm off some girl as their daughter. Make Mahanama eat with her in the same plate and only then bring her as my bride." Mahanama pretended to eat from the same plate as the girl and so she came as the bride and became one of the queens of king Pasenadi. She gave birth to a son called Vidudabha. As this boy grew up, he noticed cer-

tain things and went to his mother. "Mother," he said, "other boys are receiving gifts from their mothers' parents and brothers; but your people have not sent a single gift to me. How is that?" She soothed him saying that her father's kingdom was far away off. The boy grew up to be a young man and insisted on visiting his mother's people. He started for the kingdom of the Sakyas with a great retinue. The mother sent word to Mahanama about the visit of her son. The Sakyas sent away all boys and girls younger than Vidudabha to a distant part of their kingdom and assembled in a border town to meet the prince. The Prince of Kosala, as soon as he crossed his kingdom, was received by the assembled Sakyas, who introduced him to everybody and he had to bow down to each one because he was younger than everybody. He asked if there were no younger people among the Sakyas (who would have to bow down to him) and was told that because of some illness the younger ones could not come. The young man was feasted, made much of and loaded with presents and returned. However, one of his retinue had forgotten his weapons and went back to fetch them. He went straight into the house where the prince had been entertained and while he collected his weapons, he saw a maid servant washing the wooden seat on which Prince Vidudabha had sat. While washing the seat with milk and water, the maid servant kept saying, "Oh, the pollution of the low born! It must be done away with." The man slipped away quietly and told about the incident to his master. Vidudabha made enquiries and in great anger came back to his mother and beseeched her to tell him the truth. Pasenadi drove her and the son by her out of the palace, but Buddha argued with the king saying that a son was a son after all and must be treated as such. So Pasenadi reinstated the prince and his mother. The prince in his heart vowed that he would wash his seat with the blood of the Sakyas. After his father's death he became the king and marched with his army against the Sakyas. Buddha stood at the river crossing. Seeing him, Vidudabha bowed to him and came back. Buddha

saved his kinsmen a second time, but the third time thought that he should not interfere. Vidudabha put to the sword every man of the Sakya clan that he could lay hands on. Only a few escaped. King Mahanama was taken a prisoner. After crossing the river Vidudabha ordered Mahanama to eat in the same plate with him. Mahanama asked permission to take a bath before eating, went to the river and drowned himself. So ended the Sakya clan.

In the same collection is related the story of King Udayana of Koshambi. In that story, Udayana's mother, a Kshatriya princess was lifted from the flat roof of the palace and dropped by a giant bird in the Himalayan forest where she hid in the branches of a tree. A man saw her and came to her rescue. He told her to get down from the tree. She declined, saying that she was afraid, he might be of a *jāti* different from her own and inquired who he was. He said he was a Kshatriya. She then asked him to show some secret sign so that she could be convinced. He did so and she then came down and accepted his help. The word used here is *jāti*.

The same commentary mentions certain streets as those in which only labourers lived.

In the Jataka-Katha a whole area is mentioned where only Vaddhaki (modern word *Badhai*—carpenters) lived.

Thus some centuries before and after the Christian era literature gives glimpses into a society, which was very much like the caste society of today. There were groups who had hereditary occupations, who married only among themselves, who probably lived in separate habitation areas, among whom there was hierarchy and some groups were even held to be untouchable. The stories told reveal attitudes and situations so surprisingly like those of the later days that one can surmise that the literature belongs to a society very similar to the caste society of the 19th and 20th centuries. Of the hundreds of parallels, I wish to point out only two. King Rajaram, the King of the Marathas, with a few faithful followers was fleeing away, hotly pursued by the Mughal army. In

One town, the deferential treatment given to him by his followers roused the suspicions of the local Muslim officer. To convince him that the travelling companions were all of one caste and equals, Chitnis, a Kayastha, dined in the same plate as Rajaram, a Kshatriya. This incident occurred in the early 18th century. After the establishment of the British rule the main Maratha empire was dissolved, but a few feudatories were allowed to hold land and reign as Chiefs or Rajas. One of the more extensive and powerful of these "Indian States" or kingdoms was that of Gwalior, ruled over by the clan of Shindya with the title of Maharaja. The Shindya, though politically and economically very powerful, were held to be not Kshatriyas at all. Near Poona in the small town of Phaltan is a small chieftainship comprising of a few villages formerly ruled over by the clan of Nimbalkar Jadhav, which is supposed to be among the first five of the Maratha caste, which claims to be Kshatriya. I was recently shown some very interesting correspondence in which a situation, not unlike that of Mahanama Sakya is discussed. The Maharaja Shindya had a boy from the Phaltan Nimbalkars as his guest for a day. The mother of the boy has written the letter, suggesting what dodge could be used, so as to avoid eating at the same table, in the same row with the low-born Shindya. This incident occurred in the late 19th century.

CHAPTER III

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND CASTE

I have tried to show why I think that the full-fledged theory of caste very probably represents the working together into a single theoretical system two separate types of organization present in two societies. Through this formulation of the caste society, the two separate societies came to be represented as one society. Other aspects of Indian thought seem to be closely related to the society thus formed. Some of these are described here.

The Indian caste society was a society made up of semi-independent units, each having its own traditional pattern of social behaviour. This resulted in a multiplicity of norms of behaviour, the existence of which has found a justification in a religious and philosophical system. The separateness of the units was sought to be minimized by deriving all of them from four *varṇas*. In the religious thought a further remote unity was imposed on the *varṇas* by deriving them again from the different parts of the body of the primeval male¹.

In this social system the individual had no choice of behaviour. His norms were those laid down by the particular group to which he belonged. The castes were arranged in such a hierarchical order that at the top were the Brahmins, who were the most pollutable caste; at the bottom were castes whose touch—even the shadow—was supposed to pollute others. The caste in power tried to hold the lower castes to their lowly occupations and to the ritually impure position. There were authorities to legitimize the plurality of practices of the castes while holding the individual bound to the narrow groove set by

¹ *Rgveda* 10.90.

the caste. There were also features of the system itself which helped to support the system in all its inequalities. We shall consider these later. In this chapter I wish to discuss the ideal framework which seemed to give the whole system a certain logical consistency, providing an argument for its existence and continuance, providing a justification for its inequalities and at the same time holding out a hope for something better for those who suffered most under this regime.

Like everything else in India the completed conceptual system is made up of many strands of thought some Aryan, and some very probably belonging to the people whom the Aryans found in India. Some of these are traced below.

Philosophical speculation began very early in India. Already in Rgveda there are hymns about the rise of the world from nothing. There are the Aryan deities Mitra (the sun), Varuṇa (the god of waters), Indra (the king of gods), Agni (the fire), Ashwins (the twin gods) and many others. Gods like Tryambak and the mother goddess were added a little later and obviously belonged to the people among whom the Aryans made their home. It was apparently after taking up some new gods that a peculiar hymn came to be composed. This hymn has a refrain, "Which god shall we worship with offerings?"² The old gods, though many, had separate functions and rituals and had affinities among themselves; but when new gods came to be added, there was no special ritual for them and so possibly the question arose in the mind of some enquiring soul—"Which god shall we worship?" India was not unique in posing the question. A similar question was apparently asked also in the West, perhaps at about the same time by a king.³ The answer given by this king involved choosing one god (The Aton) from

² *Kasmai devāya haviṣa vidhema.*

³ Ikhnaton of Egypt ruled at a time when people worshipping Aryan gods and speaking Aryan languages had come in contact with the older civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia. These people were the Mittanni, Hittites and Kassites.

among the many. The king failed in his attempt, but the idea of one god being better than the others, of a jealous god who did not brook the existence of other gods, had taken root and later blossomed into three monotheistic creeds: Judaism, Christianity and Mohommedanism. The question, "Which god shall we worship?" was never really asked, it was merely of a rhetorical nature. It was answered on behalf of certain gods by their priests. Each priesthood claimed its god to be not only the highest, but the only true god. Christianity in its westward and northward, march, abolished officially its rival creeds the many gods of the ancient Middle East and of the Romans and the Greeks and established one god and one church. The West was set on a path in which it had to break with its own past, deny its ancient gods and choose Christianity. No question was asked about which gods to worship. The question was settled before it could be asked. In India the question was asked and the answers to it are preserved for us in what are termed the six⁴ philosophical doctrines of India. Each of the answers however is woven into a complete philosophy of life and the universe. The simple question was almost forgotten in the larger issue, "What is the ultimate reality?" Curiously enough this search again was not merely intellectual, but had the practical aim of achieving happiness or bliss. The final theory that emerged had main elements which were common to the orthodox Hindu philosophy and to the Buddhist and the Jain philosophies too. I will give here in a sketch the conclusions as reached by the orthodox Vedanta school.

The early Aryans were afraid of many things. The chief among them was death and another was darkness—the darkness after death, the darkness of night. So this new quest became a quest for immortality and light. The oldest literature does not have the idea of hell, though the idea of heaven is found. It speaks of realms of darkness or shadow. Neither does the earliest literature

⁴ *Shad-darshanas*. The four most famous of these are: Vedanta, Bauddha—the doctrines of the Buddhists, Jaina—the doctrine of the Jains, and Lokayata—the doctrine of Charvaka, the materialist.

mention rebirth. The idea of rebirth became definite before the idea of hell. It seems that this idea was not the original capital of the Indo-Europeans (Aryans and Greeks) at all, but was taken by them from non-Indo-European people. In Greece the idea did not become a part of the philosophical fabric as it did in India.

The Upnishads tell of the travel of the soul. In the *Aitareya* which is one of the older Upanishads, this travel is described until the seeker reaches Brahman.

The narration is almost in the form of an adventure story, where the seeker has to travel long through many obstacles. Then he comes to a lake, then he is asked certain questions, which when correctly answered, give him entrance to the holy place bounded by great Sal trees (*Sārajyam samsthānam*). There, sitting on a great couch, engulfed in light is *Brahman*. Here an old story form is used to describe an experience which cannot be described in concrete terms at all. At another place in the *Aitareya Upanishad* it is told how after death the soul goes up into the clouds to fall as rain-drops on earth and be born again when eaten as grain or grass by men or beasts. In this story a very old primitive idea is preserved in the formulation of the new doctrine of the transmigration of the soul. At another place the idea is expressed more forcefully without archaic accompaniments. The bodies are like dresses which the soul discards when they become worn and old, to don new garbs in the form of new bodies. This Upanishadic passage is found almost verbatim in the *Bhagavadgita*, which belongs to a much later period. Through the imagery of salt which dissolves in water, the idea of all-pervasiveness of Brahman is conveyed. One Upanishad (*Kena*) starts with a question, which embodies the daily practice of letting go of an arrow at a particular target.⁵ "By whom impelled does the mind reach its object?" The whole sentence uses nouns and verbs which are generally used to describe the flight of

⁵ Almost right up to and including the epic period, the bow and arrow remained the main and the favoured weapon of the Aryans.

an arrow. The answer to this question contains the seeds of the theory of knowledge and the beginnings of psychology.

A third question akin to the question, "Whom shall we worship?" and "What is the ultimate truth?" was asked. It was, "What or who came first?" The question was answered in two ways. (a) Time (*kāla*) came first and time is the last. Time is the principle of change and movement and destruction; (b) desire (*kāma*) came first. Desire is the principle of creation and entanglement. These questions and answers are also very important as they form part of the full-fledged theory of Brahman. I have said that the quest of Brahman was also a quest for happiness. Happiness comes when a person is rid of all fears. An early Upanishad tells us, "One who knows the joy of Brahman does never fear". The story of creation is related at another place. Brahman was the one without anything else. It was lonely. It desired (*so kāmayata*) and through desire it became many. The word *kāma* has, throughout the literature, had a wider and a narrower meaning. *Kāma* means a desire, a wish, something one wants, just a general sense of wanting—a yearning. In the narrower sense the word means sexual desire. Thus in both its meanings it lends itself to the story of creation.

At about the same time another strain of thought was developing. This came out of the old practice of giving special offerings to gods in a ritual involving elaborate sacrifices. The word for this, besides *yajnya* (a sacrificial offering), was *ishṭi* (something desired). Different *ishṭis* with different rituals were practised apparently from very early times. We get, for example instructions about the type of wood to be used for the sacrificial post depending on whether one wanted riches, food, progeny or heaven. *Karma* is a word used for all activity or work. This involves involuntary actions as also those prescribed by religion. Religious activities came to be divided into two main varieties: (a) *Vihita Karma* and (b) *Kāmya Karma*. The former was ritual which every person had to do at certain times of life and certain times of the day.

There were rituals at birth, puberty, marriage, conception, death. There were, especially for Brahmins, rituals for early morning, midday and evening. There was a ritual for certain days of the month and the year to give food to the dead ancestors. All this was prescribed necessary activity which ensured one's position in the early Aryan society. The non-performance of these rituals would lead to expulsion from the Aryan fold. In the early days it was not envisaged that there would be cases of deliberate neglect of these duties. They were a must.

The *kāmya karma* on the other hand was undertaken only on a special occasion and gave a man certain desired things. As already noted, this ritual was very elaborate and involved a person in much expenditure, which brought him fame as a rich man and as a generous donor. It became a matter of social prestige to engage in sacrifices which involved giving away of wealth.⁶ Sacrifice always entailed the duty of feeding every person who came along. Sometimes it entailed giving to any person what he desired.⁷ Besides *kāmya karmas* there were other types of actions which brought fame, merit and therefore heaven to men. These actions were feeding people and later, planting shade trees and digging wells.

Side by side with actions which gave positive worth to a person were actions with a negative content. Failing to do obligatory ritual or making mistakes in performing such rituals were such acts and expiation was prescribed for them. Failing to keep a contract with the gods was another. If you promised something to god in return for a favour and failed to keep up your part of the bargain, you would be visited by some disease. One such jealous

⁶ The parallel to these is in American Indian Potlach. Kalidasa sings the praises of a king who was reduced to poverty through such a sacrifice. (*Raghuvamsha*, Canto 4). King Harsha is supposed to have given away everything he possessed in a grand orgy of *dāna* (gift-giving).

⁷ The story of Astika who came as a beggar and asked that the lives of his mother's kinsmen be spared is told in *Mahābhārata*.

god was Varuṇa.⁸ From very early times a distinction was made between engaging in ritual and word-formulae (sacred hymns) for procuring some good and engaging in such activities to bring harm to somebody. The first type of *kāmya karma* was "good". The second type involving the killing of a rival in love, employing magic to bring barrenness to a woman or disease to a man, etc., was "bad". What is called black magic in the West is called *abhicāra* in Sanskrit literature.

This early thought, which gave a plus or minus value to certain actions developed into a general theory of action (the *karma* theory), which says that almost every action of man has a positive or a negative value. I have mentioned above that negative action is punished almost automatically. This theory was also fully developed and woven into the theory of rebirth, which in its turn got worked into a full-fledged theory of hell and heaven, in which there were many hells and many heavens. As stated above, very few actions were without value. Breathing in and out, winking of the eyelids, eating and drinking, sleeping and waking, digestion and excretion were actions which came nearest to being neutral, but eating and drinking were hedged in with taboos as regards time, place and the type of food. Any breaking of the taboos put a negative value on the action. Of the physiological actions the sex act was the one most beset with taboos, but *per se* it was not condemned and in certain contexts was enjoined as a religious necessity. Only a son could give food to the dead fathers (father and male ancestors) and so one had to marry and beget sons. This world with its actions and values was the world of attributes, especially three grades of attributes, the good, the medium and the bad, and a summation of all actions at the end determined the fate after death.

One more idea took a large share in the philosophy that finally emerged. This again is an old thought pro-

⁸ That this contract is still entered into will be apparent from Dr. HARPER'S paper: Hoylu, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 59, No. 5, Oct. 1957.

bably belonging to the old Aryan *Kulturgut*. Day follows night to be followed by another day. Seasons followed one another and so did the months. The moon waxed only to wane again. All natural processes seemed to be in a cyclical rhythm. In Vedic hymns and later Brahmana prose literature the early poets voice their wonder again and again. The imagery used to describe this process is that of the moving wheel with six (seasons) or twelve (months) spokes. The rim of the wheel is also a geometrical figure (*chakra* — a circle) which has neither beginning nor end nor definite sides. This gave the idea of an infinite time, which has no beginning (*an-ādi*) or end (*an-anta*). The world moves on as a huge cyclical process without beginning or end. Death is followed by birth and birth has death as its constant companion. This idea is common to all three religious doctrines. It is a search to get out of this infinite cyclical process.

The Vedas with their hymns in praise and supplication of the many gods, the Brahmanas, with their sacrificial ritual, the Shrauta Sutras with directions for sacrifices, represent a literature which deals with the things of this life, tell one how to do good and avoid evil so as to prosper here, gain heaven and avoid hell. The *Upanishads* and the *Brahma Sutra* are books which deal with something which is beyond this world of (three) qualities. In *Bhagavadgita* it is said that "Vedas have for their subject matter all things having three qualities. Go beyond these, Oh, Arjuna". For this reason philosophical literature is called *Vedānta* (at the end of the Vedas). The philosophy is also called *Vedānta*. The final picture, as it emerged, was as follows.

The whole cosmos was conceived as being made up of many worlds peopled with many kinds of beings, each with its own life-span, many heavens one above the other, and many hells. The idea of hell as a place of torture seems not to have belonged originally to the Aryans. The earliest hymns talk about worlds, devoid of light, of beings committed to darkness. This conception with the very ancient ritual of periodically giving food to the dead ancestors

seems to have analogies with the beliefs held by the other Indo-Aryan people. The idea of hell comes later and is first described in its fullness in Buddhist and Jain literature. The earliest texts do not have the idea well defined. It seems as if the Jains expanded and refined the picture of the hells. The heavens and hells were peopled respectively by different kinds of gods and suffering beings. Some of the beings peopling this cosmos are named — they are gods and demi-gods, humans who have become like gods, Gandharvas and Apsaras, the singers and dancers, the Yakshas, the Kinnaras and the Vidyadharas, living now on earth, now in heaven, different kinds of semi-human and human beings, all kinds of real and fabulous beasts, insects, birds, tiny life-forms which cannot be seen and plants of all kinds. This is the phenomenal world, where all beings act upon and react against one another; which feels, i.e. has sensations and emotions; which lives forever as a whole, but which is dying every moment as individuals. This world has moral qualities and attributes, has rewards and punishments and is founded in space and time. Nothing in it can occupy the same place, nothing can last eternally. The human beings and this world of ours belong here.

Above all this phenomenal world, including it, permeating it and transcending it, is the absolute being called *Brahman* (a neuter noun). This is thought of as a spiritual reality and in that context is called *paramātman* (the ultimate soul) as against the individual *ātman* (soul), which lives in the world of phenomena. The individual soul must wander through space and time, through many births, round and round in the great circle of phenomena (*samsāra-chakra*, or sometimes called simply *samsāra*) until it finds final release by the knowledge of its oneness with the Absolute Soul.

The theory then is as follows. The ultimate reality is *Brahman*. This is realized by a seeker in three stages which are given in three sentences in the Upanishads. The sentences are: "I am *Brahman*", "You are *Brahman*", "Indeed, all is *Brahman*". This means that everything

that is, is *Brahman*. Does it mean that *Brahman* is merely another word for the totality of the phenomenal world? No, definitely not. The phenomenal world is bounded by time and space. Everything in it has a beginning and an end and is at a particular place. It has also qualities like red, white, smooth, rough, cruel, kind, good or bad. The *Brahman* is infinite, eternal and above all qualities, but at the same time all the phenomenal world is its manifestation. The analogy given to illustrate this point is: "A ripple on the ocean *is* ocean, but does not exhaust the ocean."

The conception of the Ultimate Reality has very important consequences. The *Brahman* is the source of all phenomena but is itself beyond it. The human world with its descriptive and normative constructs does not represent ultimate reality because there is an infinity of other worlds with their objective and value structures and all those are also emanations of *Brahman*. A few examples will make this clear. Time and space concepts are relative to the life experience of each type of being. For a human, whose only means of locomotion are his legs, two points on the opposite sides of a canyon mean a descent of, say, a mile, a walk on the valley bottom and an ascent of another mile. To a bird the distance is but a few furlongs, to a worm crawling slowly along with its world confined perhaps to a few square yards the other side of the canyon is beyond thought. The same is true even to a greater degree of a tree fixed at one spot. In the same way time is different for different beings. The old writers were never tired of inventing stories to illustrate this point. In *Bhagavadgita* we have the following verse⁹: "The day of god, Brahma the creator (not to be confused with Brahman), is equal to 1000 times the four *yugas*, the night is of the same duration. *Chaturyuga* (the 4-*yuga* group) is made up of 12,000 years of the gods. Each year of the gods equals 360 human years. So in one day of Brahma there are

⁹ *Bhagavadgita*, 8th Canto, 7th verse. Also A. L. BASHAM, *The Wonder that was India*, p. 321.

thousands of years of gods and millions of human years. What is a day for the creator is years for the gods and aeons for human beings. This reckoning is rather abstruse but it is used again and again to emphasize the momentariness of the human world. The same point is brought forth vividly in many stories of which one from Buddhist literature is given below.¹⁰ A god with his retinue of beautiful women was amusing himself one day in a heavenly garden. One of the women climbed a tree to pluck fruit, fell down and died. She was reborn on earth as a girl, married when she came of age, had children, lived to a ripe old age and died, to find herself opening her eyes surrounded by that god and her other friends. The god said to her tenderly, "My beloved, it took us quite a few minutes to bring you back out of your faint". She laughed and told him what had happened to her during those few minutes and on hearing her experience, all wondered at the shortness of human lives.

Just as time and space are relative, so are all phenomena relative. What you see as a particular colour changes with the change of light or with a change in your organ of perception.¹¹ Gods all share in this relativity. All the worlds from that of the trees and the insects to that of the humans, all the heavens and all the hells are but different aspects of *Brahman*, the Absolute. Each is relative. Each taken alone is false.

This conception leads to the thought that the world of human values — the most dearly held of human possessions — has no absolute reality and that everything being a manifestation of *Brahman* has a right to exist. This

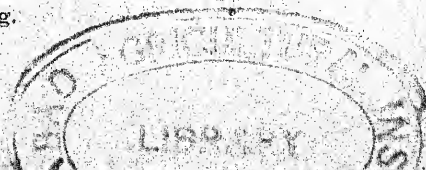
¹⁰ *Dhammapada, Atthakathā.*

¹¹ The ancient Indians would have been delighted at the new discoveries, which give us a glimpse of the world as seen by other creatures, e.g., the honey-bee. The bee has a different visual spectrum from ours. It cannot see our reds, but sees ultra-violet as a colour and perceives polarized light, which we cannot perceive at all. (See the work of VON FRITSCH, translated by Dora ILSE). In the same way, bats hear supersonic waves which are not heard by us as sounds at all.

thus is the source of and the justification of the continuous and simultaneous existence of a multiplicity of behavioural patterns in the Indian society. The typical Western reaction to this doctrine can be found in recent (1960-61) articles in "Encounter" magazine by Arthur KOESTLER. An idealist who has deeply imbibed the three monotheistic creeds of Judaism, Christianity and Communism and who has always thought 'Good' and 'Truth' to be one, cannot but feel impatient at a doctrine which refuses to call 'evil' evil. The doctrine does not deny moral categories in this world, but emphasises that what we call "values" are "human values" and that they have no relevance beyond man and his society. KOESTLER's criticism of Zen Buddhism is also unwarranted because it teaches a doctrine about ultimate reality. The *māyā-vāda* of Shankara has also lent itself to both angry and facile criticism. These doctrines need to be studied historically and critically. They are not formulated as an answer to any particular crisis, personal or global, though one may find a mode of dealing with both on the strength of the knowledge of these doctrines. Before one can understand them one must cease quarrelling with oneself and the world.

Shankara in his writings recognizes and gives a name to two types of truths. One is the absolute truth (*pāramārthika satya*), which has no limitations of time, space and attributes. It is one. The other truths are many, are partial. He calls such a truth the truth of daily intercourse (*vyāvahārika satya*). These are truths which have a validity for the world of behaviour. When a blind man describes his world, it is a world of touch and hearing and smell and that world picture has a validity, for it suffices for the behavioural universe of the blind man. What is true of the blind man is true of all creatures of heaven and earth.¹² However endowed these creatures may be, their endowments will always fall short of the totality which is

¹² See in this context G. K. CHESTERTON's poem which tries to describe the world of a dog.



Brahman and its creation.¹³ This point is well brought out by Dnyaneshwar, a 13th century Marathi commentator of the *Gita* (this is the usual way in which the *Bhagvad-gītā* is referred to in India). As pointed out above, *Brahman* is described in two ways. One way is to deny it all attributes or give it contrary attributes.¹⁴ The other way is the more popular way, well known from the earliest Vedas. *Brahman* is described as a MAN with thousands of feet (feet everywhere), thousands of eyes (eyes everywhere), thousands of hands, thousands of heads. Dnyaneshwara's commentary on this verse says : Whatever action there is among the smallest and the largest is his action. He is everywhere at all time and so he is all-foot. All eyes everywhere are his eyes and so he is all-eyes. He is all-head because not only is he all but like the head he is above all. All sound is his word, all that hears are his ears. He has all forms because all that has form is his manifestation.¹⁵

Indian philosophers are fond of stressing that *Brahman*, the Absolute, is found in all creation from Brahma (the creator) to the small ant. This all inclusive-ness is reflected in what I have called a culture by accretion. It includes and accommodates. It rarely rejects. Among all Indian philosophers there is no dichotomy of good and evil because all is the manifestation of *Brahman*. As the Absolute is above all attributes, all moral categories

¹³ I am grateful to Prof. R. D. VADEKAR and Prof. P. L. VAIDYA for drawing my attention to the following passage from The *Madhyamaka Sutra*, a Buddhist work ascribed to the 4th century and so pre-dating Shankara by at least 3 centuries :

"The Dharma-teaching of the Buddha is based on (the recognition of) two truths, one the truth that covers the world [the later *Māyā*-doctrine of Shankara], and the truth that is ultimate". Vide : Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, No. 10, Chap. 24, p. 215.

¹⁴ The description in *Ishopanishad*: "It goes, it does not go; it is far, it is very near; it is within all, it is outside of everything" or the famous description: "It is not that; it is not that" (*neti; neti*). Also *Bhagavadgītā*, 13th canto, 15th verse.

¹⁵ Dnyaneshwari, Canto 13, verses 74 to 86.

belong to the world of partial truths. By the very nature of things there cannot be anything which is absolutely final. Neither heaven nor hell are final stages. The ethical world, the world of values, becomes a world of relative truths under this view. This conception of the universe is so relativistic that it should lead to a society which is anarchist — a society in which agencies of control other than an individual's own would be absent. But the Indian society is governed by rather strict rules of behaviour. These rules are the rules of the group called castes, though some rules govern the behaviour of all, to whichever caste a person belongs. The caste society is arranged in a hierarchical way. The family also is arranged on principles of precedence, obedience and subservience. How can such a society be explained by the theory described above? As already explained, the Hindu society has two aspects. One is the co-existence of groups with different norms of behaviour and a continuity with the past and the second aspect is the structures which govern behaviour among co-existing groups called castes and among families within each caste. The first aspect is explained by the theory of *Brahman*, the second aspect comes within the orbit of what is called the theory of *karma* which is as follows :

- Life is an eternal process involving birth, death and rebirth. All types of life — sometimes even non-living matter¹⁶ — is linked together in this process. A human being after death may become a denizen of heaven or hell or may take an animal shape or become a tree. What sets this wheel in eternal motion is *karma* — action. As explained previously, according to the Hindu view (Jains and Buddhists also shared it), every action of a human being has a positive or a negative worth. At death there is always an accumulated capital of positive values and negative values and the soul must pay for both. The account is never made up in such a way that a positive value

¹⁶ A person can become an inanimate thing for a certain duration and then assume a living form. In this context the story of Ahalyā in *Rāmāyaṇa* is interesting though it does not illustrate the cycle of rebirths.

can cancel out a negative value. The soul must receive the meed for both. Thus one and the same being can live in heaven for some time and in hell for some time for the good and the evil one has done and be born as a human being to start the account over again. The type of status in which a being is born in human society also reflects the award of positive or negative worth, which is not all exhausted by heaven, hell or non-human births. A man being born as a king or a Brahmin is a sign that there was an accumulated plus balance, being born a member of a lowly caste or of vicious parents is a sign of a minus balance. Thus on this theory the caste society with its hierarchy, social differentiation and social injustice found its justification. The distinction between castes was felt like a distinction between different types of animals like lions and foxes. Being born in a low caste was merely a special case of being born as some other being.¹⁷ There was however a great difference between being born as a human being, however lowly in status, and being born as an animal or even a god. The different kinds of birth as heavenly beings or animals, plants and beings in hells are called collectively births of reckoning or experiencing, (*bhoga-yoni*). In these births a being is incapable of accumulating positive or negative worth. He merely lives on his capital of good or bad. It is a passive living out, but when the capital is exhausted, one is born again as a human being to start on a new birth where he has a choice either to gather a plus capital or a minus capital, in which case he is born again, or, he may refuse to gather any capital—to end with a zero—and be gathered into the great *Brahman*. The human birth is the birth of action (*karma-yoni*).¹⁸ Whatever position one may occupy in human society, there was the choice one could exercise of the paths to (1) heaven, (2) hell or (3) non-

¹⁷ See Appendix to chapter 2.

¹⁸ This is quite clearly stated in all Hindu, Jain and Buddhist philosophical literature though some of the story literature of all three suggests that positive or negative action is also possible in other births.

rebirth and incorporation into *Brahman*. The *karma*-theory thus justifies the caste society and at the same time offers a hope for the future. The kind of behaviour which leads to heaven or hell is described as follows: Doing good to others, feeding the hungry, not stealing, not coveting the other man's wife are the usual good actions. To these are added: feeding Brahmins, showing due respect to elders and above all *doing without a murmur all the jobs incumbent to the station in one's life (this includes the work expected of a caste)*. On the other hand, stealing, adultery, treason, cruelty to man and beast and insubordination to elders and *towards those of higher castes* led to hell. What is then the path which leads to the ultimate release from the cycle of births and union with *Brahman*?

Very peculiar strains of thought have gone to make the complete theory of *karma*, which is not all of it given in one place. The total picture is quite clear, but it is not brought into one system in one discourse. This theory of *karma* is bound up with a theory of *dharma*. *Dharma* is a very peculiar word. It has two aspects, one naturalistic and the other normative. In its naturalistic meaning *dharma* means a necessary attribute. It is then a synonym for such words as *svabhāva* or *prakṛti* (own attribute, nature). For example the *dharma* of water is to flow. In its normative meaning, which is the one used oftenest, *dharma* means "the duty, the path to be followed". In discussion after discussion *dharma*, the duty, is made to follow from *dharma*, the natural attribute. In this context, the word "*vrata*"¹⁹ and its history is also very interesting and reveals the evolution of thought. *Vrata* seems to be used as synonym for the word "path", the way, in *Rgveda*. It is used especially for the eternal circular paths followed by the great luminaries. To go by one's *vrata* was the duty of each. *Vrata* was then used

¹⁹ V. M. APTE, "All about *vrata* in *Rgveda*", *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Poona, Vol. III, June 1942, and W. Norman BROWN, "The basis for the Hindu act of Truth", *Review of Religion*, November 1940, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 37.

for the chosen way of life, but it was also used for the 'natural' way of life. In *Rgveda* there is a song which tells how each follows his *vrata* devotedly and has desires which go in accordance with his *vrata*.²⁰ "A carpenter, following his *vrata*, wishes for a break in a chariot, a surgeon wishes for a maimed one, a Brahmin for a patron who will engage him to press soma, the sacred liquid.... In the same way (equipped) with wood (fuel), bird's feathers (for dusting), stone (an anvil) and flames (fire), a goldsmith seeks out a man who has gold to be worked."

"I, a poet; my father, a surgeon; my mother, milling grain; we with different thoughts, as we seek wealth follow each our *vrata*, as a herdsman follows his cows. In the same way a draught-horse desires a chariot easy to draw the phallus desires a hairy cleft (woman's organ), the frog desires water".

Vrata was first a path, then a function chosen or a natural one. Being a poet was a chosen vocation. Being a frog or a draught-horse or a phallus was having a natural function.

This word is compounded with others to show a type of virtue. *Anuvrata* was a person who stuck to his functions — duties. *Satyavrata* was a person whose duty was his truth. *Pativrata* was a woman whose *vrata* was her *pati*, husband. Just like *dharma*, *vrata* had a naturalistic and a normative meaning. In the earliest literature it means a duty, a vow undertaken. In later literature it means a duty incumbent on a certain position in life. The duty of a woman was to be *pativrata*. The duty of a Shudra would be to serve others, the duty of water or a river would be to flow.

Certain actions were called good or bad, but very few actions were good or bad for all. Manu says, killing is sinful, but it is the duty of a king to order an offender to be killed. Neither the king nor the hangman would be committing a sin if they killed through a sense of duty. Each person had a duty (*dharma* or *vrata*) appropriate

²⁰ *Rgveda*, 9, 112. See reference above, W. Norman BROWN.

to his station in life. Following this duty did not enmesh a person in a cycle of births or deaths if it is followed without mental involvement. Such a way of life makes a person possess extraordinary powers (*siddhi*) which are otherwise acquired only by sages and ascetics through meditation and penance. This point is illustrated in a Buddhist story, which is about *Satya-kriyā*, an act of truth. This consists in doing something extraordinary through certain powers of truth. In performing such an action one has to make a declaration publicly or mentally about one's steadfastness to "truth". The most famous of such examples in Indian mythology is that of Sita. When Rama expressed doubts about her faithfulness, she declared, "If I have not sinned against my husband by word, deed or thought, may mother earth take me in". The earth opened and took Sita. In this way Sita proved her innocence. The Buddhist story, which is very illuminating in the context of *dharma* and *vrata*, as the duty imposed by the station in society, is as follows :²¹

²¹ This passage is quoted from W. Norman BROWN, loc. cit.

In this context the following story from *Mahabharata* is revealing (*Āranyaka Parvan*, *Adhyāya* 197-206). A holy Brahmin sitting in contemplation under a tree was spattered with excreta. He looked up in great anger and saw a pair of birds which at his look died instantaneously. He then started on his daily round to beg food in the city. He came to a house and called loudly that he had arrived. The housewife who was cleaning the pots asked him to wait. In the meanwhile the husband of the woman came home. As soon as she saw him, she left her work, washed her hands, brought food for the husband and while he ate stood by him talking sweetly and serving him. After the husband had eaten she remembered the Brahmin standing outside and came out hastily with food, begged the mendicant's pardon and asked him to accept food. The Brahmin in a rage abused her and enquired if she thought it proper behaviour to keep a Brahmin waiting. She replied calmly that as a married woman her first duty was to her husband and a Brahmin should not get angry and go on killing birds. The Brahmin was surprised at her answer and begged to know further about duty and meritorious life. She had no time but directed him to a butcher living in the kingdom of King Janaka in the city of Mithila.

"King Ashoka inquired if anybody in his kingdom would perform an act of truth. No Brahmin or monk or Kshatriya came forward to do it. At last a courtesan, Indumati by name, came forward and before the assembled multitude made the mighty river Gangā flow upstream. After witnessing this astounding feat, King Ashoka said to her, "You possess the power of truth! You, a thief, a cheat, corrupt, cleft in twain, vicious, a wicked old sinner, who have broken the bonds of morality and live on the plunder of fools!"

"It is true, Your Majesty," she answered "I am what you say. But even I, wicked woman that I am, possess an act of truth, by means of which, should I so desire, I could turn the world of men and the worlds of the gods upside down".

Said the King, "But what is this act of truth? Pray; enlighten me".

The Brahmin walked for days and on reaching Mithila was directed to the butcher's shop. He stood apart but the butcher saw him, hurriedly stepped down, bowed at the feet of the Brahmin and took him home. After worshipping him the butcher told him about his killing the birds and his conversation with the dutiful housewife. The Brahmin was astonished and asked how a man doing such work could have such spiritual achievements. The butcher replied, "What I do is because of the deeds of my past birth. I can't help it. But I do it from a sense of duty only. I serve my parents and gods, give to Brahmins and live without untruth and cruelty". Then follows a long discourse on how everybody must do what has been accumulated through deeds of the last birth and how one could still be released.

The moral is obvious. Despised beings like women and Shudras (the two are always bracketed together) can get extraordinary powers and attain Brahman — realisation — provided they do their traditional work in a humble spirit, with a sense of duty, rather than for self-aggrandisement. Arjuna's business as a Kshatriya was to fight and provided he did it purely from a sense of duty and not to enjoy the status of a King, no blame attached to him. Traditional behaviour was thus raised to the highest moral principle. A person was born in a particular status because of his own deeds and the best could be achieved by him doing things which were done traditionally by people in that rank.

• "Your Majesty", whoever gives me money, be he a noble (Khattiya, i.e. Kshatriya), or Brahmin or a merchant (Vessa, i.e. Vaishya), or a serf (Sudda, i.e. Shudra) or of any other caste soever, I treat them all exactly alike. If he be a noble I make no distinction in his favour. If he be a serf, I despise him not. Free alike from fawning and contempt, I serve the owner of the money. This, Your Majesty, is the act of truth by which I caused the mighty Gangā to flow upstream."

The teaching of *Bhagavadgītā* is to be read in this context. The stanza most often quoted says, "It is better to die in (performing) one's *dharma*. The *dharma* of others is fearful of consequences."

"Even if one's *dharma* seems mad, its performance brings blessing, rather than the taking up and following another's *dharma*."²²

In the following passage the word *karma* is used as a synonym for *dharma*.

"Men obtain great *siddhi* (power or ultimate release), when they remain immersed each in his own *karma*."²³

The words "*sve sve karmaṇi*" (in one's own *karma*) can be substituted by the words "*sve sve dharme*" (in one's own *dharma*) in this passage, as it is done in the following verse 47.

This theory of action, though abstruse in parts, has direct reference to the Hindu social structure, as we shall see. As noted above, good and bad actions do not cancel one another to make a zero; therefore, each action has to become a zero, i.e., a perfectly neutral action from the point of view of value. This is possible only if desire is given up. Desire flows from the consciousness of "I" as distinguished from "the others". This ego-feeling is at the bottom of desire and all desires lead to actions towards fulfilment. There is no point of satiation at which desires die through complete fulfilment.²⁴ Thwarting of desire

²² *Bhagavadgītā*, canto 3, verse 35.

²³ *Bhagavadgītā*, canto 18, verses 45 to 47.

²⁴ *Manusmṛti*, 2, 94; *Bhagavadgītā*, canto 2, verses 62, 63.

leads to anger, anger leads to temptation and madness which lead to destruction. Intense love is also a path of destruction. Love blinds no less than hate. Love leads to attachment and desires and endeavours on behalf of the loved ones. Complete release can come only when one is without hate or love.²⁵ The very beginning of the wheel of life and the phenomenal world was in the desire felt by *Brahman* "to be many". To be completely neutral is the goal. The illustrations given for this type of behaviour are those of the sun, the water and the earth. The sun shines on everything. He does not say, "I will give no light to the wicked". The water does not say, "I will quench the thirst of a cow, but shall become poison and kill the tiger," nor does the earth say, "I shall support the great and banish the lowly."²⁶ So must a person act if he wishes to obtain final release. *Whatever position he is born into, he must fulfil the functions, but without attachment, without hatred.* If he does live in this way, neither sin nor merit attaches to his actions.

We thus reach a rule of life in which each fulfils the duties of his station in line without resentment.²⁷ If one dies without any longings, or desires, one realises *Brahman*. The king becomes the upholder of the social order. His function is compared to that of the god Vishnu, whose duty it is to keep the world in a state of being. He is the god of the *status quo*. The king fulfils this duty. He holds

²⁵ The story of Ananda, the most devoted disciple of Buddha, points out this moral. Ananda once asked Buddha why many other disciples had been released but he had not received salvation. Lord Buddha answered, "My dear Ananda, I will tell you when the right time comes."

When the Lord Buddha was on his death bed, Ananda immersed in inconsolable grief was sobbing his heart out. Then the Lord Buddha called him and asked "Ananda, why are you crying?" "How can I live without you, my Lord?" replied Ananda.

"Now you know", said Lord Buddha, "why you have not been released."

²⁶ *Dnyaneshwari*, canto 12, verses 144-150.

²⁷ *Bhagavadgītā*, canto 4, verse 20; also canto 5, verse 10.

the balance between the castes and does not impose laws of his own; he administers them. Manu says that the king shall administer justice so as not to go against what is appropriate to a country (*desha*), the time (*kāla*) and the caste (*jāti*). He is not a law giver. He is simply the upholder of a system and that system is the caste society. Thus whether it is ultimate release or heaven which one strives for, the actions to be performed are the same. The one set of actions, i.e., those that lead to release, are done without any ultimate individual aim, the others which bind, are done for the sake of gaining a good name, wealth or power.

Brahman, the Absolute, in its totality is amoral. The act of creation is not a moral act. It is a natural consequence of desire. To the question, "Why was this world created?" the answer is, "*Just play-activity*" as in the case of human beings"²⁸ Moral action can arise only through intercourse and in society where individuals and groups interact. Therefore in the moment of the ultimate realization of *Brahman* one rises above all social laws, but yet one must behave as if one still 'belonged' to society because, "the common people imitate the actions of the wise and great and your actions should serve as guide to people."

The principal guides to actions were *Shruti* (the Vedas), *Smṛti* (the books written by Manu and others) and *Vṛddhācāra* (the behaviour of the elders).²⁹ The

²⁸ *Shankarbhāṣya, Brahmasūtra of Bādarāyana, 1.1.33, "Lokavattu Lilakaivalyam".*

²⁹ The word *vṛddhācāra* does not appear in this context in Sanskrit literature. It is found in Marathi literature of the religious sect *Mahānubhāva* and is used in conjunction with the words *Shruti* and *Smṛti*. In Sanskrit literature however the expression *vṛddhānuśāsana* (the advice of elders) occurs in *Mahābhārata* (*Nalopakhyaṇa*, 13.17). The expression *anādi-vṛddha-vyavahāra-paramparā* (the ancient tradition of the behaviour of the elders) occurs while defining the language of ordinary usage (*laukika-bhāṣā*, KAIYATA'S comment on *Mahābhāṣya*), and lastly *ācāra* (customary behaviour) is defined as "the acceptance of that which is said by the elder (or the teacher)", occurs in *Sarvadarśhana Saṅgraha*.

Vedas being ritual books never provided real guides for what was *dharma* or *karma*. The *Smṛtis*, were rules of behaviour, as 'remembered' through tradition, but they could not be infallible, because societies are forever in flux. The most reliable guide was, therefore, the example of the elders, the respected people, who know what was appropriate to the time, place and caste in the light of *Shruti* and *Smṛti*.

An individual was born with three debts (*Rṇa*). The debt to the gods, to the preceptors and to the ancestors. The debt to the preceptors is paid in the first part of one's life (first stage of life) by learning the lore and the traditions of the *varṇa*, the debt to the gods is paid by worship, by feeding the hungry and sheltering the needy. All this can be done only through marriage and keeping house (second stage of life). The debt to the ancestors is paid by continuing the line, having sons and giving food to the dead ancestors (second stage of life). After discharging these debts one can retire from active life and stay away from the daily duties of a householder (third stage of life). After a few years, if one feels that way, one can deny completely all claims of society and give up everything by taking up *Samnyāsa* (casting everything off). This is done by performing publicly one's own funeral ceremonies, taking up another name and giving up the house and family, (fourth stage in life). In this stage a man belongs to no caste and all caste rules for him cease to be.

Paying the three debts, following the tasks appointed to one's own caste, without hope for bettering one's lot or resentment or despair at life's reverses, recognising that this life is the consequence of all past actions and going through it with equanimity, one at last reaches *Brahman* and realises that one is *Brahman*, the one is many, the Eternal-in-Flux.

This in short is the philosophy which brings the caste society into a conceptually connected structure. The questions asked at various times receive answers. One of the questions asked again and again in early literature was

about creation. Various answers were given on the basis of analogy and myth, but as the *Brahman* theory reached its culmination, the questions lost their interest. The world of phenomena as manifestation — a play-activity — of *Brahman* is eternally destroyed. The creation and destruction are but partial views of an incomprehensible eternity.

The question, "Which god shall we worship?" also loses its importance. Gods as against the *Brahman* are as phenomenal as everything else. Man creates gods in the necessity of his own desires. In the *Bhagavadgita* Krishna, the god, says, "I take different forms according to the different needs of my devotees."³⁰ A 17th century Marathi poet Tukārām says, "God! Have you forgotten that your godhood depends upon our belief and devotion?"³¹ The minute a man realises, "I am *Brahman*," he is above all gods. There are and will be always many gods because men's wishes will be many.

The question about what is right and wrong were answered in different ways depending upon the circumstances. Theoretically, right and wrong were not absolute. Practically right and wrong was decided according to the general principles of *dharma* as modified by principles of time, space and *jāti*.

This system was completed in its main features by the epic times. The history of India shows that all the kings, native or foreign, did rule according to this theory, allowing each caste to rule itself and a group of castes to accommodate themselves mutually, provided the taxes were paid to whomsoever was the ruler. •

³⁰ *Bhagavadgitā*, canto 4, verse 11; canto 7, verse 21.

³¹ *Tukaram Bavachya Abhanganchi Gatha*, (Marathi), Vol. II, verse 2946. Bombay, Government Central Press, 1950.

CHAPTER IV

SOME MECHANISMS OF THE CASTE SOCIETY

In the caste-society separate units have lived together for a very long period. Some questions naturally occur with regard to this society. How and why could such a society continue to exist for such a long time? What were the modes of articulation of the units called castes? What constituted the "togetherness" and the "separateness" of these units? What advantages did such a society offer and to whom? Or what did such a society lack? Was the "separateness" of castes complete or was there communication between castes? What were the processes of communication leading to imitation of behavioural patterns? What are the limitations on imitation? What were the modes of changes in such a society? How did they come about? I am attempting to indicate the answers to some of these questions in this chapter.

How and why could the Hindu caste society endure for a long time?

Certain features of the caste society, for example the multiplicity of behavioural patterns, hierarchy and hereditary social position found a full rationalization in a very elaborate philosophy which included a theory about final liberation. However close the fit of the theory to the Hindu society, it cannot fully account for the long existence of such a society. The philosophical speculations were themselves the product of the long existence of such a society. A society does not exist simply because its structure justified it on ideal grounds. There must be some other reasons for the continued existence of an elaborate social structure like the caste.

Before taking up that question one point needs to be mentioned. The existence of a social system which per-

petuates great inequality in status, worldly goods and opportunities depends among other things not only on the acquiescence by the non-privileged groups but also on a feeling in the higher groups that they have a right to rule. A certain legitimization of power is necessary to hold up those groups which enjoy a privileged position. Slavery was condemned not only because it became economically untenable, but because the group represented by the exploiters of slave labour did not feel justified in using slave labour. The "White man's burden" was not merely a hypocritical and high-sounding phrase coined to garb naked exploitation. It represented the belief which sustained the empire builders in their conviction of being a people with a mission. The same type of thought helped the proselytising Christians in the spread of Christianity in Europe and then in the world. In the same way the religious and philosophical system of Hinduism, besides being a speculation about the nature of the world of existence and the world of values, was also the source which upheld the caste system and the privileged ranks. It answered the need of the higher castes to justify their existence and to legitimize their exploitation of the caste situation. It must be borne in mind, when systems of beliefs linked with social institutions are studied, that in any social situation the class which rules and controls needs self-justification on ideal grounds as also mechanisms which make it possible to rule and control. The ideal system of beliefs and speculation has already been described. In this chapter an attempt is made to study the mechanisms of the system which have enabled it to survive so long and in doing so to find if some of the questions asked at the beginning can be answered satisfactorily.

The history of India is not so well known as the history of Western Asia and Europe. The chronology and dynastic lists are not always well authenticated. For certain periods and for certain areas there are gaps which have not yet been filled. But while the record is unsatisfactory in details, it is adequate for certain purposes and lets one draw certain broad generalizations. One such is that peo-

ple have come into India continuously from outside for the last three or four thousand years. From the conquest of Alexander till the coming in of the Western Europeans the record for two thousand years is quite clear. Every few centuries different folks and tribes came into and settled in India. Each ruled for some time to be overthrown by indigenous rulers or some new comers. After Alexander, some of the people who came into India and ruled bigger or smaller kingdoms were the Greeks, Persians, Shakas, Kushans, Huns, Tartars, mixed Turkish-Tartar people and various other Central Asiatic tribes. The long border between Tibet and India has always been open to a continuous trade between Tibetans and Indians and a number of people from over the border have come and settled on the Indian side of the Himalayas. The greatest pre-Alexander immigration of which we have knowledge was that of the Aryans. They formed part of the great southward thrust over a very wide area from the Mediterranean to the Himalayas of a horse-riding, cattle-raising people of mixed origin. These people were first heard of around 2000 B.C. in Egypt, Babylonia and on the upper reaches of the Tigris and Euphrates. They ruled as foreign barbarians in Egypt (Hyksos) for centuries and were driven out after a great effort. They ruled in Babylonia (Kassites) also for centuries and were gradually absorbed into the people and took over the culture of the people among whom they lived. In India there did not appear to be the kind of well-knit civilization of long standing as that in Egypt and in Western Asia.¹ But apparently there were great walled cities in the Punjab and Sind where people lived a life comparable to that lived by the city dwellers of Babylonia. These people were apparently in touch with the western civilization, but who they were is not known as their script represented by words on various seals has not been de-

¹ Modern excavation shows that the city-civilisation of the Punjab was very extensive and also well-knit, but the exact pattern of its intercourse with people inside and outside India is not yet revealed. See *Indus Civilization* by Sir Mortimer WHEELER, 1960.

ciphered yet. This civilization was destroyed, whether by the Vedic Aryans or by some other people is not known. In the Vedas there is a mention again and again of a warrior God (Indra) who is often described as the smasher of cities. The name of this god occurs in a treaty signed between an Egyptian Pharoah and a Mittanian king at about 1500 B.C. The Aryan record in their earliest hymns and epics is one of fighting with various indigenous people and establishing small kingdoms. We may presume that various people, perhaps related linguistically to Vedic Aryans, came into India over a long period, that other people also must have come into India besides the Aryans and that the history of the two thousand years before Alexander's advent into India was not much different from that of the two thousand years after Alexander. What kind of society there was before the Aryans came we do not know, neither do we know much about the adjustments which took place each time between the new comers and the older inhabitants. We do know however as to what was happening in a general way after the Aryans arrived and in a more detailed way at the time when Buddha lived. In a previous chapter I have tried to give some reasons why I think that a society somewhat like the present caste-society might have existed even before the Aryans came. The Aryans had a society different from the caste society, but they gradually accommodated themselves to the caste society and finally tried to theorize about it. After Buddha, when we get numerous descriptions of the caste-society, we know how its very self-sufficiency made it indifferent to who the ruler was to whom certain taxes had to be paid. A little later we get the picture of the caste-society working in a spatial unit called "a village" (*grāma*). The interdependence and mutual need of castes became perfected in the village organization.

"Arthashastra" (300 B.C.) of Kautilya describes a village as a walled settlement. Though the number of open villages is large today there are traces of walls in many. In a modern Indian village different castes live in different localities. Within each area representing the clusters of



houses of one caste, there are sub-clusters belonging to particular families (agnatic lineages and sometimes an affinal family or two) within the caste. A caste has an area of distribution comprising many villages. Within this area a man finds all his kinship. Families belonging to a caste are residents of certain villages. In each village families of each caste form certain patterns of give and take with all the other castes. The village together protects itself and pays certain dues to the ruler. During famine or war or owing to oppression by rulers whole villages may migrate. It was in the interest of the ruler not to tax these self-sufficient communities too much.

The caste society, each unit-caste of which was rather helpless economically, became a powerful self-regulating system through being organized into villages. A foreign ruler could rule provided he did not disturb this society very much. As long as there were officials to collect revenue and command compulsory services on some days of the year according to customary procedures, the villagers did not care whom the official represented. This was an easy society to rule. All that a conqueror had to do was to establish his rule in the capital city and go on ruling as those before him had done. No new governmental machinery needed to be set up in such a society. This society had brought to near perfection a mode of self-government which needed the least supervision from a central power. The caste had a cell-like structure, but for subsistence as a caste it needed a certain type of contact and give and take with people of other castes. A village was an almost perfect cell as an area of sustenance which was self-sufficient, independent and isolated from others through its very individuality. In the village the articulation of each caste to the others became defined and through this was developed an amazing system of self-regulation which needed almost no central supervision and withstood all central interference. The regulation was local and atomic. The caste society had two kinds of structures which cut across each other without coming into conflict. The principle of regulation of the caste from within was

the principle which held together and regulated kin. This involved the localized patrilineal or matrilineal family (joint or non-joint) living under one roof, the lineages living as neighbours and the whole web of blood and affinal kinship was represented by caste. The father of the family, the most important members of the most important lineages and caste-elders were the centres of authority. The village represented the system by which intercaste intercourse was regulated. A village in itself, though atomic and self-sufficient in one sense, was part of a larger system of villages dependent on one market town or representing areas of the spread of particular castes or families. The conduct within the village, between villages and between a village and the authority represented by the political power was regulated through the agency of the village council. This society made it easy for any conqueror to rule provided that conqueror was content to rule according to traditions.

This historical picture and the kind of organization which faced the Aryan immigrants and became strengthened in time contrasts greatly with what was happening in Europe. The Indo-Europeans penetrated Europe which was still largely inhabited by fishing and hunting folk and had made beginnings in agriculture. It absorbed this element, dominated it and submerged it so completely that only traces of the culture of the pre-Germanic people remained. After the overrunning of Europe by people speaking Indo-European languages the main land-mass of Europe remained undisturbed by foreign conquerors. The Huns penetrated the south and later the Mongols and Turks penetrated upto the Elbe and the Danube but the rulers of Western Europe remained largely native rulers. The most important factor in European history was the gradual spread of Christianity from the south to the north. Christianity had at its back the civilization of the great Roman Empire. The Empire fell but the Church carried on its tradition of law, organization and centralization. It supplied a central point of reference for all conduct, it alone sanctioned norms of behaviour. It cannot be said

that it was a rule of enlightenment which fought superstition and ignorance. India in those early centuries presented a picture of greater enlightenment, liberality and less superstition. What the Church did was that it had a hegemony of thought. Beliefs sanctioned by it alone could be held so that the ignorance and superstition were also of a uniform brand. When this power of the Roman church was shaken after the Renaissance, the bulk of superstition and ignorance could also be removed. In India each caste and each village was a separate centre of power and ignorance and superstition. Political instability and chaos were certainly endemic all the time in the sense that in one area or another there was an overthrow of a kingdom and every area had it at least a dozen times during the known history of India. The caste society was so constituted that it could withstand the shock of such events and offered a certain amount of security² to individuals and families.

² The extent and quality of protection offered by the caste (which I have defined as extended kin) can be judged from the following two examples. Some years back the Deccan College, Department of Archaeology was engaged in doing excavations at Nevasa a town about 120 miles from Poona. The labour employed for digging etc. was all from the scheduled caste 'Mahar'. When the excavations were over these people mourned the end of the work. They said that from the next year they would have to migrate as usual after the rainy season in search of work. Enquiry revealed that most of them went to Poona and lived during this period at the houses of their relatives.

The second time this was brought vividly to the notice of the author was during the recent (July 1961) disaster in the city of Poona. Two dams broke after a month of incessant rains. On the 12th of July the city was hit and laid low by millions of tons of water and subsequently for two days it had no water to drink. A daily newspaper ascertained from the railway and bus transport authorities that about 100,000 people left Poona to go to different places in Maharashtra. This figure was arrived at by counting the tickets sold. These people did not go to hotels but to their relatives. A relative is not a member of the near family but may be any relative by blood or through marriage. From those whose houses were submerged about 25 per cent sought shelter in public places. At one

It is not generally realized that the caste society in a sense was a very elastic society. It has been pointed out how each new group could become a part of the caste society in whichever way it chose or in whichever way historically accommodation became possible. By its very nature the caste society presented a loose structure which could take on new units and in so doing re-arrange old units. It could do so without having to change the very nature of the society. Different tribal people became articulated to the caste-society in different ways. Some became an integral part and assumed the position of the untouchables (Chenchus), others or rather parts of others claimed to be Kshatriyas (Raj-Gonds and ruling Bhils), some remained occasional visitors to the settled caste-society as organized in villages (semi-nomadic castes of entertainers), some foreign people got completely absorbed (the Gujar, some Huns, etc.) while others remained on the periphery (the Parsis and the Bene-Israel Jews of Bombay). The caste-society had become such a strong habit of thought that even egalitarian religions like Christianity and Islam became organized into caste-societies. The Brahmin-Christians married only Brahmin-Christians and in South India low-caste Christians were not allowed to enter a church for purposes of worship. Rajput-Muslims married only among themselves.³ The caste society perfected a mechanism by which groups lived juxtaposed without actual mingling or losing their identity, which demanded specialization and economic interdependence, which gave security and order without assistance of a central machinery. The caste as a kinship group and the caste society as organized in the village were both largely atomic structures sealed off from other similar structures. The internal control was within the kin group called caste

place were people belonging to an untouchable caste whose whole settlement was submerged. About 75 per cent of the people were sheltered with people of their caste and kin.

The author has known a case in which a family of Rajput-Muslim refused to have an untouchable Hindu as a household servant because they as Rajputs could not tolerate it.

and the control and rule of conduct, where it came into contact with other castes, was for all practical purposes determined within the narrow sphere defined by the limits of a village. This mode of life in two intersecting isolations was so perfected long before the Christian era that later history had to make accommodation to it rather than that it could get modified in response to demands of history.

In India, the easternmost country in which the Indo-Europeans penetrated, the picture was different from what happened to them in western Asia as already noted above. There were a few cities with a little writing, there was agriculture, there were other ruling people and the earliest records of the conquerors show that they were neither much superior nor inferior in civilization to the people among whom they came. The only advantage they possessed was a great mobility. The cities knew writing but it was apparently very meagre and they were destroyed either by the Vedic Aryans or by their predecessors. The life of the cities reveals trade and specialization. The Indo-Aryans were neither submerged nor were able completely to dominate. The author thinks that they accommodated themselves to a life which allowed a certain separateness together with a certain interdependence—a pattern which very soon became what is known as a caste-society. One can contrast this picture with that in Europe where Christianity imposed a certain fundamental uniformity. It could do so because Europe was a comparatively backward region while Christianity had at its back the whole ancient civilization of the Mediterranean world. By the time the Christian Church started on its path of domination of Europe and suppression of older religions, India had started out on a diametrically opposite path of accommodation, and inclusion of ever new elements. The philosophical ideas of the ultimate truth being *Brahman* and all else (including gods) possessing but relative truth was well established before the birth of Christ. In this society, the extended kinship group, the family, the caste and the village (the local unit) remained far more im-

portant than the state, while an organized church never emerged. Each group lived near others, keeping to its own traditions while co-operating with others in the matter of production of consumable goods. The society which developed was of an agglomerative character. This character is developed to its fullest extent in the organization of castes. Simple agglomeration is a process which needs the least modification of the agglomerating units. The new element which is being incorporated is simply joined and it can remain in an unspecified position for a considerable time. This makes it clear why a new group coming into a region can remain for a long time in the position of a semi-absorbed caste. The Jews, Parsis and a number of Muslim castes in various villages, while fulfilling very important economic functions in the life of the village communities, have an indeterminate position as regards caste hierarchy. The very principle of articulation of castes is thus characteristic of the whole Hindu culture. The agglomerated or conglomerated mass of matter in geological or physical terms has no definite internal structure and no definite limits of accretion of new matter. The caste-society is however not structureless. A rough scheme of meaningful differentiation in terms of rank and obligations has during history been imposed upon it. There has remained a certain indeterminateness as regards rank and the obligations and duties *vis-à-vis* other castes. In any given region, the number of castes may vary and the position occupied by different castes may differ widely from region to region. The *varna* system embodying a ranking order was imposed on this mass of agglomerated groups in such a way that theoretically at least the castes of any region fell into four divisions. If we count untouchables as a separate category it would make five divisions. Within each of these five divisions, there were innumerable groups each striving for a higher position within the *varna* division. Today there are a number of castes in the three *varnas* who claim a position which is not conceded to them either by the *varna* where the group

wants to be, nor by other *varṇas*. The castes within a *varṇa*, though showing great rivalry among themselves, sometimes show solidarity while fighting for position against others. Thus at all times Brahmīns of whatever caste may work together to substantiate the claim of belonging to the highest *varṇa* and to keep out the new aspirants from entering their *varṇa*. Even this position is complicated by the fact that groups within a *varṇa* may be historically affiliated as mutual friends or champions of castes of lower *varṇas*. This is the position in Andhra with two sets of castes. The higher castes are the Reddi and the Gauliga. These two caste sometimes claim to be Kshatriyas. They are traditional rivals. The Reddi are on terms of friendship and patronage towards an untouchable caste called the Mala, while the Gauliga are on similar terms with another untouchable caste called the Madiga. The Mala and the Madiga proverbially hate each other. We have here the picture of complex alliances and rivalries within the *varṇa* and between *varṇas*. Similar observations have been made about conditions in Malabar (Kerala) by Mr. Raman Unni.⁴ He notes (p. 520) that the "Chaliyans, originally an immigrant caste of weavers are now regarded as a low caste of Nairs". The same author also observes that in another group of villages the ranking of immigrant castes is vague (p. 329). At another place he describes the attempt of a lower caste (Variyar) to rise higher in temple service through the influence of Nambudri Brahmīns.

In the same way, sometimes the actual numerical strength of particular castes plays a role in the eternal struggle for power. A traditional ruling caste, whose numerical strength is somewhere between 40-50% of the population might find itself being opposed by 10 or 12 castes each of which forms a numerically small minority, but which can combine in a successful opposition to be able to wrest certain concessions from the ruling caste. This happens especially in modern times

⁴ Ph.D. Thesis, Baroda University, 1961.

where every adult has a vote. The principle of agglomeration becomes gradually modified. Many castes live together in one village and can join and rejoin in a struggle for power. In Maharashtra, e.g., one particular caste may numerically be the majority caste. One finds therefore a tendency for smaller castes to go away from the village and settle in small market towns, which serve the needs of between 20 to 40 villages. In such a market town the traditional rank would no longer count and castes which were considered to be lowly or which were numerically small could combine to get power. The amount of definite configuration which can be imposed on the simple agglomeration of a caste society depends on cultural communication in its widest sense. The communication is the knowledge and acceptance of certain structures involving acquiescence in values and positions of subordination and domination. In India the most widespread item is the large knowledge of the *varṇa* system. Even though the word *varṇa* may not be known to the illiterate masses, the rough classification and the words Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Shudra and untouchables are understood by almost everybody. The Brahmanical order of ranking which places the five divisions in a descending order in the order given above is also known to most people, but is not acquiesced in by large sections of castes belonging to groups other than Brahmins. Historical records show that this struggle for acquiescence is a phenomenon which goes back to the first written records of Hindu society. Every branch of Indian literature has preserved stories of rivalries between different *varṇas* especially those between Kshatriyas and Brahmins for supremacy of position. The position in this respect has always been one of constant friction with opportunistic accommodation. This peculiar conflict though theoretically confined to two *varṇas*, really reaches to all people in all *varṇas* inasmuch as there has been all the time an attempt by different castes to claim being Kshatriyas or Brahmins. As northern domination reached all parts of India, the *varṇa* system came to be established as a theoretical point

of reference throughout India. The attempts of castes to rise ever higher in a hierarchy are never with reference to single caste position, but always with reference to *varṇas*. When a Kunbi of Maharashtra wants to call himself a Maratha, he is not changing his caste name, but his position from the Shudra *varṇa* to the Kshatriya *varṇa*, because in historical times the Maratha caste has successfully claimed to belong to the Kshatriya *varṇa*. The *varṇa* system also changes internally. Different groups through their claims to belong to a higher *varṇa* all the time upset the established ranking system. But it remains fixed in the sense that all concede that there are five ranks. Until recent times, the divisions at least were held to be the ultimate divisions of society. Even when the Brahmins and Kshatriyas have fought for supremacy there has been a reluctant admission of the theoretical highest position of the Brahmins at least as regards ritual. The fact which we note when we come to analyse the system of articulation of different castes in different regions of India at a given period or at different times in the same region is that the *varṇa* system which appears so inflexible itself is surprisingly flexible, because while the words denoting the five orders remained the same, the castes included in them changed. Brahmins being the literate class, who have written most of the systematic literature about law and ritual, have given always the impression of a certain inflexibility to the *varṇa* system, which in actuality has not been the case. With regard to the question of wielding power and exercising social control and dominance the *varṇa* system shows even a greater indefiniteness than the Brahmanical writings would lead one to expect. Indian history is full of names of big and small rulers belonging to all sorts of *varṇas* holding sway over bigger and smaller regions and exercising control over castes belonging to higher *varṇas*. Sometimes the first rank allowed to a Brahmin is nothing more than a matter of form and lip service, while real power and control vested in whoever happened to be either the political head or the rich man in a given village.

The degree and the quality of separateness or togetherness of groups which make up a society are difficult to judge purely from the way the groups are structured and articulated. As long as the norms (within certain elastic limits described above) are undisturbed, even an extremely differentiated society involving discriminations due to rank may present a picture of unity and happiness. In such a situation a lowly servant willingly gives up all for the sake of the master, or a caste bows down to the fact of being regarded as untouchable. Culture-contacts, new technological discoveries, disintegration due to prolonged wars might lead to new economic opportunities or to upheavals leading to a new social order. On such occasions the tenuousness of links becomes demonstrable. The feeling of togetherness is also due to spread and depth of communication. It is best to examine this point in some detail as regards the caste and village society. Togetherness may even emerge in an age-long institutionalized rivalry as between Brahmins and Kshatriyas where, as already shown, the rivals in one context become allies in another. This is exactly the picture which the caste society presents. It is an ever-changing pattern of alliances and rivalries. What castes will gang together and against whom, depends on the particular internal structure of the system, as also on the outside historical situation. The foreign missionaries and rulers tended to patronise the lowlier and more deprived castes who found novel and undreamt of opportunities under the new set up.

The *varṇa* scheme into which all the hundreds of castes were fitted was generally known all over India long before the Christian Era.⁴ The greatest supporters of that system were the two top *varṇas*, namely, Brahmin and Kshatriya. They were rivals of one another but also at the same time useful and indispensable to each other. Southern kings from very early times claimed descent from the legendary heroes of the Sanskrit epics and Brahmins

See mentions of *varṇa* in later Vedic hymns, Mahābhārata and all the Smṛtis.

supported these claims. As representatives of the kings of the north they were the supporters of the *varṇa* system and with it, we may presume, of the *jāti* system. The doctrine of rebirth was part of all the three religions (Orthodox, Buddhist and Jain) over hundreds of years. The doctrine that the present birth was a consequence of the deeds of the past births was equally well established.⁵ This has been considered in some detail in chapter III.

The notions of heirarchy and pollution and also the relation between a low birth and the sins committed in a former birth were communicated to the populace in various ways. All the three sects had a host of itinerant holy men who told people stories to illustrate certain doctrines. The same notions were repeated in dramas acted at great temple festivals which drew a crowd of the same type as the temple festivals do today. The types of discourses held by the Buddha are vividly depicted to us. The itinerant monks in their hundreds must have held similar discourses all over the land. In a drama of the 7th century⁶ which notes that a Shudra had no right to perform penance of the Brahmanical times, the first act vividly tells us the way in which the drama was acted. There was the festival at the local temple of Shiva. A company of actors had arrived with a new drama by a not well known man. An actor apparently stood on high and drew the attention of the people and described the work and the play commenced with the words, "Now, folks, I have become a citizen of

⁵ In Bhagavadgita, Arjuna asked anxiously, "supposing one were to die while making efforts to reach the ultimate release, without attaining the end, what happens? Are all efforts lost? Is one to begin all over again?" Krishna answers that one starts in the next birth in a position where one is advantageously situated for carrying the efforts further and assures Arjuna—"Do not be sad. You are well born (*abhijātosī*) to a status where you enjoy goodly virtues." The term *abhijāta* is never used of people born of low caste. In the same way the words of Krishna "I have created the four *varṇas* according to the nature (of people) and works (of people)" can also be construed to mean deeds resulting in a low birth.

⁶ BHAVABHUTI, *Uttara-Rama Charita*.

Ayodhya of those olden days." Thus the communication of the ideas making up the caste system reached to all levels of the population through Sanskrit and different types of Prakrit.

Between the 10th to 12th century, the modern north Indian languages gradually emerged. Of the Southern Dravidian languages, Tamil and Kannada were very well established. The first literature in these languages was bringing into vernacular the thoughts in Sanskrit literature. The thirteenth century literature shows all the above ideas incorporated into Marathi and Gujarati. The communications became even more effective as they were in the regional languages of the people. Mutually understandable communication in a language which was not just the language of the learned had many consequences. (1) It imparted the ideas of the caste and the high philosophy of the Sanskrit treatises to the masses. (2) it coincided with a new religious movement offering salvation to everybody and (3) It fostered a feeling of togetherness among those who spoke the same language.

Panini's Grammar and later Prakrit works make us realise that even before this period Sanskrit was spoken in slightly different idioms in different parts of India and that different types of Prakrit were spoken in different parts of India. But the emergence of the modern languages marks a definite stage in the social history of India.

Politically a region speaking one language may have been governed by more than one king, but for social intercourse of all types the linguistic region became a new consolidation. At the same time it separated the other linguistic regions to a certain extent.

The type and form of communication within each region has remained the same over centuries and the names of some types of communicants from the Maharashtra region are given here as an example.

1. *Haridas* — these are generally Brahmins who go from place to place and give a performance in temples in which the deeds of god and his greatness are sung. Such

a performance is half music, half prose, half story telling and half hymn singing. It is a one man act.

2. *Puranik* — is also a Brahmin who is generally attached to one place and who tells the stories and lore in the Puranas every day in a temple.

3. *Gondhali* — is a troupe of non-Brahmin performers of a certain type of devotion involving song and story. They are itinerant. There are others who tell the philosophy of the Gita.⁷

4. *Chitra-Kathi* — are also non-Brahmin itinerant story-tellers who illustrate their stories with pictures.

5. *Yama-puri* — (the city of hell) is a performance given in each big temple festival. This illustrates the kind of tortures suffered by the sinners in hell. Little dolls are used in this performance while a man goes on giving uninterrupted commentary all the time. It is avidly visited by adults and especially by children.

There are also other entertainers who get on the move after the rains and visit villages. There are astrologers, snake-charmers, magicians, medicine-practitioners and all types of performers. They are all on the move as soon as the roads become dry and the harvest comes near. Though the village people are comparatively immobile, the communicants are all very mobile and cover great distances reaching even forest-villages.

The festivals of local deities and great all-India deities are also occasions of very active communications.

It is the experience of the author that among the illiterate people of Maharashtra, there is far greater knowledge about the literary tradition of the last seven centuries of this land than among the people who have received their education in schools and colleges. There was thus effective communication of the fundamental theoretical framework underlying the social structure. As all the rulers and their Brahmin priests supported this structure, there was enforcement and to a certain extent acquiescence in it.

⁷ Some ten years ago a man popularly called Gita-Maharaja was giving lectures on Gita in the city of Nagpur. Over five thousand people listened daily to these discourses.

Communication leads to imitation. Imitation brings about certain uniformities of behaviour which help the feeling of togetherness. In this respect communication has played a very peculiar role in India. There are certain uniformities which are found over very large regions. These uniformities embrace all castes. One such uniformity is language. The sameness of language facilitates communication and imitation. The author has noticed many examples of this type of communication. A number of castes which did not allow cross-cousin marriage allow it as a concession to the majority pattern. In a non-compulsive social set up such communication and imitation is almost the only force for achieving certain uniformities. The working of this seems to depend on many factors. Some castes seem to resist change for a long time, others seem to accept change rapidly. The duration of association, the types of association, the rank of a caste, all seem to have an influence on the phenomenon of change, its quality and its intensity. A type of imitation is called by SRINIVAS "Sanskritization." In his field studies he has noted that certain people from a lower caste try to imitate the habits of speech, dress and food of higher castes and so try to rise in status. Besides raising status, this type of imitation also leads to establishment of certain uniformities. But the experience and historical studies of the present author have shown that the process of "Sanskritization" by the very nature and history of the caste society has very severe limitations and must be interpreted in a way different from the role attributed to it by SRINIVAS.

In certain respects castes distinguish themselves from one another very sharply and some of these distinguishing marks are valued as caste-monopoly. Characteristics based on sectarian differences or tribe-like distinction are almost never imitated by well-to-do individuals of the lower stratum of castes to emulate the rank of the higher castes. In an orthodox setting such behaviour may not be interdicted as long as the man of the lower castes preserves his distance; but the author has seen that such individuals are the butt of ridicule and contempt instead of praise from

their fellow caste-men as well as from men of superior castes. It is recorded in history and literature that certain things were forbidden to people of certain castes and that contravening of this taboo was severely punished. Vedic learning, practice of penance, wearing Brahmanical apparel were the things tabooed. Certain foods were also tabooed to certain castes. These taboos became slack as well as unenforceable under certain historical circumstances. Those were also the times when some aspects of the caste order came to be challenged as the history of Buddhism, Jainism and the Bhakti movement shows. The taboos and their severity became very slack during and after the British period. During this period the author has noticed again and again that a conscious imitation of the dress or accent of a higher caste is something not looked upon with favour by many lower castes. In this respect the marriage of a man of a lower caste to a woman of a higher caste has two aspects. Some tend to view it as a matter of triumph while others view it as a betrayal of the own caste.

Imitation is a process which affects the imitator as also the people of other castes. Certain types of ritual are performed generally by higher castes. Some castes whose position is disputed may also perform the ritual. In such a case the Brahmins who cater to the priestly needs of the lower castes lose status within their own caste.⁸ There are some types of worship which are performed both by higher and lower castes, but the Brahmins who are employed by the lower castes lose rank within their own caste. This fact illustrates the double role of the imitative process.

Generally the times when caste-taboos get less rigid are during foreign rule and intensive culture contact. In India this was provided almost all the time by the contact or conquest both externally and internally. At such times new castes claimed and reached the Kshatriya rank. It cannot be said however that imitation preceded the gaining

⁸ One can interpret this phenomenon also as a failure to attain Brahminhood.

of a rank. In many cases the claim to a rank precedes imitation. Successful imitation becomes possible only after a claim to a higher rank is made good.

The mechanism of imitation as a factor towards social change is, in the Hindu setting, a very complicated process and its possibilities and effectiveness seem to be enhanced in the very circumstances when it seems to be not necessary.

The feelings of togetherness engendered within a caste and within a village are complementary in the sense that the sphere in which one type of togetherness works is different from the sphere of the other type of togetherness. The caste bond is primarily a kinship bond and sometimes holds on even when occupational or religious differences occur within a caste. Generally when people change over to another religion, the caste bond breaks as marriage ties are broken. But the author has seen cases especially among the untouchable castes when families keep in touch even after conversion. There are cases of marriages among converts and non-converts. Sometimes members of one and the same family may belong to different religions.⁹ Occupational differences do not affect the solidarity of a caste ordinarily except as it introduces great economic distinctions. The togetherness of a village depends on long residence of different families which are bound in a certain pattern of services and duties and which are known one to the other. This togetherness is expressed in Marathi by the expression "*Gāvachā* (of the village) and *Uparā* (a stranger)". The author found that people whose families had lived in a village for two generations at least would be called *Gāvachā*. In one investigation carried out by my colleague Dr. Damle, it was found

⁹ Such cases were noted by the author among the Mahars of Maharashtra. In the tribal area such cases were noted among Bhils in the Khandesh district of Maharashtra and in some Munda villages in South Bihar. A similar situation was reported to the author by one of her Sikh students. A number of families had Sikh and non-Sikh members in the Punjab before the present tension due to the Punjabi language area arose.

that a man who had lived in a village for over ten years was called *Uparā*, and treated as a "stranger" in certain critical situations. A man for some reason falling out of his own village community could hope for support from his caste people settled in other villages, but if a caste excommunicated a man, it would have been very difficult for any village to give him support.¹⁰ In a village people supported each other against extortion from the central government. In a famine whole villages migrated as even Buddhist records show. A village gave fight to the robbers. We have a poem from the late 18th century which illustrates the feeling of togetherness rather well. A Brahmin poet MOROPANT from the town of Baramati near Poona went to Benares on a pilgrimage. In a poem addressed to the holy river Ganga he has pleaded the cause of his fellow-villagers and begged the river to wash their sins. In this poem he has mentioned by name: Brahmins, Marathas, Vanis, Kumbhar, Parit, Lohar, Sutar, Barber, and the untouchable Mahar of his little town.¹¹ Even the Muslim is mentioned. This is one aspect of togetherness; but in certain other aspects togetherness did not exist at all.

The concept of "togetherness" has significance on various levels of experience. This feeling may bind people of a locality or of a larger area. It may bind people over large time-spans. The spatial and simultaneous "togetherness" depends on various factors like long and continuous communications as also on common dangers and common oppressions, common beliefs and common political domination. The feeling finds linguistic expressions as *Gāṇvālā* or *Gāvachā* ("belonging to the same town") as we have seen. Other linguistic expressions may refer to political oneness, or linguistic oneness¹² or religious one-

¹⁰ Excommunication is legally banned in India now.

¹¹ "*Ganga-Vakil*", "*Moropanta-Kṛita Sphuṭa Kāvya*", edited by Vaman Daji OKA, 1896, Part I, pp. 57-63. I am very grateful to Prof. T. S. SHEJWALKAR for bringing this poem to my notice.

¹² Poets of Maharashtra have given expression to this togetherness, e.g. *Marāṭhā titukā melāvāvā* (All Marathi-speaking people should be united together).

ness.¹³ The possession of a family name, clan name or a caste-name may also express the feeling. In trying to assess such a feeling or the lack of it the historical behaviour of a society is the best guide. Some aspects of such behaviour seem to be implied in the very build-up of a system. The stresses and strains of the system seem to be understandable from the way the parts are arranged and articulated. The caste rivalries and alliances are thus a consequence of its hierarchical order. At the points of stress and strain certain securities against snapping seem to be built up in the value system or moral and religious beliefs and on the systems of reward and punishment of temporal and non-temporal nature. But the capacity of a system to withstand strain or to build in securities can never be fully known for a system which goes on living, because what the future strains would be and how a society will meet them is largely a guess based on its past performances. Each society has a capacity for change which may surprise and also give a new insight into its nature. The systems of a vanished society can be fully analysed but even then one cannot say that it had inevitably reached the point of breakdown. The breakdown of a particular society is a historical event. One can analyse the factors leading to it but rarely can one say that a breakdown was an absolute logical necessity and was inevitable. "Might have been" is a phrase every historian toys with and without it a social analysis might become merely the laying bare of fatality. A 'breakdown' is also in most cases a relative breakdown. When the conditions of disturbance vanish it is found that in its rebirth a society carries certain continuities with its past and as long as such continuities exist there are always the possibilities of revivals, and resumptions of old forms of behaviour. 'Togetherness' encloses different circles of people in different contexts. Shared knowledge and experience does

¹³ Expressions of religious oneness so common to the West occur in Buddhist or Jain literature in earlier times and in the later sectarian Hindu literature.

not necessarily lead to a feeling of togetherness. European wars of the last thousand years were fought between Christian countries, but Europeans as a whole tend to have the "us" feeling against non-Europeans and Christians against non-Christians. Conflicting situations may arise in these two loyalties especially since a certain new political dogma has led to a schism in European society. Thus European and non-European Christians may join against European and non-European communists who had tended to dissociate themselves from Christianity. This is a picture of a society¹⁴ which has first consolidated itself through one religion, then in smaller political national states and lastly through a consciousness of being different from the rest of the world, which was simply a world for exploitation. Common resistance was made to Muslim domination through the symbolism of the Crusades and through the real persistent fight against the Moors in Spain. The Mongol invaders of Europe turned back for some reason from the eastern bank of the Elbe. This incident has been treated by European historians almost as god's grace and the triumph of the Greeks over the Persians as an act of god which preserved the fine classical tradition for the future of Europe.

A glance at Indian history, the actual behaviour of the people and the tone of the historians show a great difference in attitude. From very early times, people of various racial stocks and various religions came into India, fought whoever was the reigning king in the region they came to, established kingdoms, and perished in their turn to give place to new kings. This process continued right up to the recent past with a very few exceptions. The Rajputs fought against the Mughal rulers of Delhi but never as a whole people. Some kings fought while at the same time other Rajput kings were vassals and allies of the Mughals. The Marathas and Sikhs fought against the

¹⁴ European society in this context includes the American society which is an overflow of the 'European' society. It excludes Asiatic Russia as it was a sphere of mere colonial enterprise throughout the European Russian domination.

Muslims but the Maratha resistance ceased after a time.¹⁵ The only time that India fought as a whole against the foreigner was during the struggle for freedom against the British. This went against all historical precedents and must be counted as an achievement of the British Imperialism. The complete organized mastery of the foreign power led to a new organizational orientation for this land which never before then had felt to be one politically.

What holds for political power holds for religious organization too. The loose religious beliefs which formed the core of Hinduism were without a name until one was given by the Muslims. The term "Hindu" was coined by Muslims and gave a new consciousness of oneness to people who were so designated. Hindus remained separate from the Christians and Muslims mainly because the two latter refused consciously to accommodate to the Hindu pattern of life. Even so the Hindu pattern imposed itself on these communities inasmuch as the converts assumed or rather carried over into the new life the old habits of thought by keeping ideas of caste and pollution in the new religion. Even those who were not converts but original Muslims and Christians succumbed to the idea with the result that a *varna* and caste-system parallel to the Hindu system arose among them. The white Christians were the Brahmins in the new caste system while the untouchables converted to Christianity had to stand outside the church for worship. The picture was further complicated by the mixed progeny of the whites and the natives whose position in the new caste hierarchy was the most bitterly contested. The same phenomenon was seen also among Muslims. However, the two religions, through their more formally organized priesthood, retained the possibility of assuming a common feeling of togetherness among themselves and a feeling of separateness from the

¹⁵ The spirit in which Shivaji fought or the spirit in which the battle was continued till the death of Aurangzeb was lost in the later years when Marathas were content to acknowledge the nominal suzerainty of the Moghul king and made him a pawn in a complicated political game.

infidel. This contact with the uncompromising monotheistic religions made Hindus more aware of themselves as an entity than at any former period in the history of India.

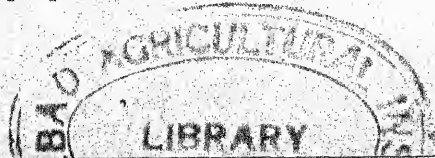
The feeling of togetherness through time is not a feeling shared equally by all. In Hindu society while there is much change, nothing seems to be finally given up, with the result that there is always some living link with the past in some aspects of behaviour and thought. The Hindus have been called an unhistorical people who have never kept clear chronological records of anything; but they have kept a continuity with their own past in behaviour and thought which is not found in the lands of the West. Christianity in Europe and Islam in Western Asia have cut up the experience of these societies into two separate epochs, one before the acceptance of the new religion and one after the acceptance of the new religion. The pre-Christian symbols and beliefs are matters of antiquarian interest and evoke no feelings in the present generation. The recall of the past becomes a romantic revival. In India there are people who carry on even today the ritual of three thousand years ago in a language which is as ancient. The traumatic experience and the split personality with its guilt feeling, which the Western world has, has been largely absent in India.

Another aspect of the measure of togetherness and separateness can be realized through certain recent occurrences. Almost all over India conversion was going on in Muslim times and later after the Western Europeans reached India. The converted Muslims became castes and performed hereditary functions in villages becoming an integral part of the village-economy. The phenomenon of conversion was very wide and intense in certain parts of India like Sind and Eastern Bengal where between 75 and 50% of population became Muslim. The converted population went on doing the same jobs they were doing before conversion. The fact of conversion did not evoke fear or anxiety in the minds of the non-converted upper castes. Hindu society made up of many castes functionally

interdependent had in reality become lop-sided in these two areas without anybody becoming aware of it. These two areas became part of the new Muslim State at the time of partition and the full separateness or the superficial togetherness of the old caste society divided by religious beliefs became apparent.

It was stated above that the organization, unity and all-pervasiveness of the British rule led to a new feeling of togetherness among the Hindus. This feeling was continually put to test especially in the relationship of the untouchables castes with the rest of the Hindus. The untouchable castes tried to improve their social position by using political pressure. There were bitter accusations by their leaders against the high caste Hindu leaders, and by the high caste leaders there was criticism of the attitude of the untouchables. But on the whole the untouchables cast their lot with their countrymen against the white rulers. The pressure of conversion to Islam and Christianity was always very great. In this context their recent *en masse* conversion to Buddhism needs to be studied as a gesture of togetherness coupled with a strong protest against felt social injustice.

Closely related to this aspect of togetherness is also the question of the offence and defence mechanisms of such a society against aggression. It has been pointed out above that in its long history the Hindu society as a whole never rose as one (except recently against the British) against political, cultural or religious aggression. The fact however remains that while the more centrally organized societies of the west succumbed to political and religious domination to a degree intensive enough to change radically their structure, the Hindu society has survived over two thousand years of continuous pressure from foreign conquerors and new religions. The survival became possible through its very structural looseness. Its weakness seems to have proved its strength. It is recorded in European history that the conversion of a king or queen has led to the conversion to Christianity of a whole land or a whole people. This was never the case in India.



The political power from the earliest times was divorced entirely from religious functions and Asoka the Buddhist king could not convert even the majority of his subjects to Buddhism. He had to give recognition and protection to other sects. The Hindu society could not be attacked as one. If one part succumbed, it was cut off while the rest of the society went on in its old unconcerned way. Well-knit 'togetherness' transmits feelings of resentment against transgressors. It becomes everybody's business to be his brother's keeper. That was exactly what the looseness of Hindu society prevented. Its tolerance was but another name for the indifference of one part to the fate of the other. This was also its defence. If one part was lost, the rest of the society did not feel the shock. One attack is not enough to conquer such a society. The attacks have to be as many as there are loose parts. In the last analysis these are the innumerable castes and sometimes even families within each caste.

This type of organization is comparable to the organization of the worm's body which is made up of semi-independent segments. If a segment is cut off the rest of the worm goes on living. The death of the worm can be achieved only if a large number of segments are destroyed. This is what happened in the case of East Bengal and Sind.

The phenomenon of change in this society has also been in keeping with its character. It has changed in some aspects, while in others it has not changed at all. Some parts have changed while others have remained practically unchanged. Its attitude to change is also different from the one found elsewhere. Brahmins used to eat beef as is clear from the Vedic texts. For over a thousand years they have given up the old practice. Beef became taboo to almost all Hindus, except to the untouchables. Since contact with the Europeans, not whole castes but a number of individuals in many castes have given up the old taboo. Vedas are still the most sacred books of the Hindus and yet religious worship, ritual and even Gods have changed since the Vedic times. Change has been always partial, it has spread very slowly to the strata other than where it

started and in most cases it has never encompassed the whole society. This latter fact has made this society appear static to observers. The curious relativistic attitude has never allowed it to make a final choice which involved giving up entirely any of its old ways of behaviour. This has resulted in a museum-like collection and juxtaposition of the old and the new which bewilders outsiders. Each epoch in history has shown some change but the way the society is constituted the effect and significance of these changes have been different from those of similar changes in the societies of the West. The mechanisms of change have been considered briefly in the discussion about communications.

To sum up, (1) the caste is an extended kin-group spread over a definite region. (2) It is never self-sufficient like a tribe because it is specialized generally in one type of occupation. (3) This deficiency is made good by many castes coming together in a village and being bound up in a pattern of mutual duties, obligations and rights. (4) Castes are arranged in a hierarchical order which however leaves some freedom for particular castes to strive for higher positions. (5) The caste society allows new units to come into its web at a time and in a position which is largely indeterminate. (5) Castes remain in peripheral contact with each other, with very large freedom for each caste to follow what it considers to be its traditional pattern. (7) It illustrates the agglomerative character of the whole Hindu society. The society is not a product of continuous splitting of something which was a unit but has arisen out of a loose coming together of many separate cultural entities. (8) Historically this pattern might have existed even before the Aryans came, who merely took it up and perpetuated it. (9) This type of society of juxtaposed groups seems to have arisen at a time when different people came together without any single people being strong enough to impose its political or cultural domination. Most of these societies might have been tribal in nature and each retained its separate character in the new set up. (10) This society continued

to exist in its old pattern as it had (a) the elasticity to accommodate ever new elements and (b) offered security through a long period of political insecurity and foreign domination. (11) The philosophical systems developed very early in the history of this society, while truly objective, were also at the same time such as to offer a complete justification of the most important aspects of this society. (12) Besides the ideal structure erected by this society its mode of internal articulation made it possible to survive outside attacks and internal schisms.

The greatest challenge to this society has come in the modern times (a) when Britain welded it into one political entity for the first time in its long history, (b) when it gained freedom from the foreign power as one nation and adopted a democratic constitution, and finally (c) when it is hoping to adopt the modern technology. How it has done it upto now will be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

In a sense the analytical study of Hindu social institutions has been completed. This chapter really poses the problem of what such a society is faced with in modern times and what it has done upto now. Extreme care was needed not to let this chapter become an enumeration of the favourite schemes of the author. The author has tried to take up only a very few of the vast number of questions which can be dealt with. These were chosen only because they illustrate the same point in different ways.

We have seen how the Hindu society has developed in such a way that it has not been able to reject anything. We have called it an agglomerative society. It was also extremely loosely articulated and it has no consciously developed mechanism of resistance. On the philosophical side, this type of social life was based on a conception of reality, a vague indescribable unity called *Brahman* was supposed to be inherent in the manyness of the created universe.

For the first time in its long history, India politically became one. As part of the British Empire, it was loosely connected with countries like Burma and Ceylon. On attaining freedom, it was separated from them. It was also divided from a certain part of its own territory which it had come to regard as a part and parcel of itself. This was Western and Eastern Pakistan. It is not the intention of the author to discuss the political happenings, but only the task which faces what is today a political entity called the Indian Union. When the remaining portion is called a Union, some recognition is given to the fact of many units coming together to form a union. We have thus a

government made up of executive and legislative bodies at the centre and a number of State governments with their own executive and legislative bodies. Upto now most of the State Governments have belonged to the same party as at the centre and so a number of common policies are followed by both; there are however an equal number of cases where the States and the centre seem to go in different ways.

The main sociological problem in the political, cultural and economic fields today is that of making room for many-ness while not jeopardising the oneness. To take the political problem first, the Centre never seems to make up its mind as regards what the units are going to be. Step by step the units have become identical with the linguistic regions and because of the demands for proper demarcation of the boundaries between the units and the demands for ever new linguistic units, the Centre seems to feel that the linguistic units should never have been made. Together with this is also involved the problem about a language for the whole of India and the languages for instruction and official use in the various States.

It has been pointed out in the previous chapters that owing to certain historical circumstances like the lack of a central power or the lack of a central church, the linguistic regions have been a cultural reality for the people of India. The effective spread of an in-marrying caste was generally the extent of the linguistic region. During the times when a people spread out of their boundaries, they still came back for purposes of marriage to their linguistic region. Also the modern major languages in India have had written literature for long periods. Tamil, the southern-most language, possesses written literature which is about two thousand years old, while some languages have a written literature of only a few centuries. Sindhi emerged as a written language not quite three centuries ago. Some languages which have a large number of speakers did not have a written literature. Some have been uprooted owing to recent political circumstances from their motherland. All linguistic areas are zigzagged at the boundaries so that it is difficult to mark State and regional boundaries through

straight lines or along rivers and mountains. None of the people who speak a particular language and who have had their literary and religious education through it want to give it up. There is hardly any other question which has raised so much controversy as the question of a language for India. This question is not simply one about language but is involved with the following problems :—(1) What should be the units of federation of the Indian Republic? (2) What role should the languages of the States play in administration and in education? (3) How should the different States communicate with one another and with the world outside? (4) How should recruitment to central services be carried out? (5) What employment pattern and policy should governments adopt? (6) What are the cultural and emotional values involved in the language controversy?

These are but a few of the most important questions involved. The language controversy wages as hotly as ever and is not likely to be solved in an atmosphere of calm consideration. The author outlines a policy below, which possibly has also been swayed by sentiments, but it is given here because it will enable readers to get an idea of the complications which have to be faced in bringing about a transformed society.

When the Indian federation came into being its first shock was the separation of parts of north-east and north-west as a separate Muslim state. India resolved to keep together what remained. It has a constitution by which various States are bound in a federation at the Centre while certain matters are left entirely under the control of the States. Owing to the way in which the British had gone on conquering parts of India and arranging them in "Provinces", it came to happen that most provinces in north India were one-language units and these became, after 1947, the States in the Indian Federation. In the case of the States in south India however, the language regions remained divided and became parts of different states. Such for example was the case as regards Maharashtra, Telangana, Kerala etc. Maharashtra (the region where Marathi

language is spoken) was divided among three political units : Western Maharashtra comprising the coastal parts and the western high plateau were in the Bombay Province (of the British time). North-eastern Maharashtra comprising the valley of the Purna river (Berar) and the valleys of Vardha and Vainganga rivers (Nagpur area) were parts of the old Central Provinces and eastern Maharashtra called Marathwada was a part of the old Hyderabad state (Nizam's Dominion). In the same way Andhra (the region of the Telugu-speaking people) was divided between the old Madras Province, Hyderabad state and Mysore state. The linguistic regions in India have a feeling of cultural togetherness which is very strong and which is centuries older than the political States and even than India as a country. These regions have well developed written languages whose literature goes back to several centuries. People who can read and write, though small in number (about 24 per cent according to the 1961 census provisional figures) in different regions represent the leaders in new India and are intensely proud of their language. The linguistic region offered itself as the most popular and natural unit for the new States which were federated. It was so accepted by the Congress leadership before independence but the central government failed to draw up basic principles for demarcating boundaries. Every linguistic region made claims over territories which were disputed by others. Some who had influence at the Centre succeeded for the time being in including in their linguistic areas cities or tracts which could never be so included (inclusion of the famous hill resort of Abu into Gujarat is one such case. It has now been restored to the new Rajasthan State). The Centre went by sentiments rather than on principles and often yielded to pressure groups. The old Bombay Province made up of Gujarat and parts of Maharashtra and Karnatak was allowed to remain for some time. This led to bitterness and agitation, even riots and following these to the ultimate creation of states based largely on the linguistic regions. Even now however

(August 1961) all questions about boundaries have not been solved.

India with its many developed languages offers analogy with the continent of Europe rather than with any other single country, except that, unlike Europe, the linguistic regions were never political entities. If such multilingual areas are to be governed, some general principles need to be evolved for marking boundaries, dealing with linguistic minorities in the nature of enclaves and the bilingual people near the borders. Deploring the multiplicity of the languages and the pride people take in their own language and literature and branding it as "linguism" does not solve the problem. It only exacerbates feelings. The oneness of language of vast regions can be used as a primary ground for fostering feelings of unity and breaking caste barriers. The new-found oneness of India can best be nurtured if all linguistic units feel that they are justly treated, that their language constitutes no barrier for employment under the Centre and that they can do all they want to develop their own language. The creation of a superstate made up of smaller states each speaking a different language¹ raises difficulties about inter-communication, common recruitment to the services of the central government and maintainance of academic standards for teaching of scientific and other subjects.

Some years ago the Constituent Assembly passed by a majority of one vote a resolution making Hindi written in the Devanagri script the official language of the Union. This decision has not satisfied many. The present author being one of them, the whole question is treated here in some detail.

The question is generally dealt with by analogies and/or through an appeal to sentiments of nationalism or pedagogics. Let us examine these one by one. India cannot be compared with the U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. or Switzerland or

¹ There are two Hindi states : Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh; Bihar and Rajasthan are also reckoned as Hindi states, as their languages are very similar to Hindi.

modern Japan in the matter of its political and social situation. The United States imposes one language on its multi-racial and multi-lingual citizens. This became possible because the English-speaking component was in an overwhelming majority when the States gained independence. The new people who came to the States after that came always as an uprooted people seeking food and refuge and a new life and were ready to give up their language and learn a new one.² This uprootedness and fragmentary migration is utterly absent in the case of India. Russia is a land made up of many linguistic regions and many races where regional languages have been given a place in the region and Russian has been adopted as the federal language. Here also the analogy is wrong. Hindi like Russian is spoken by a large number of people but not by the majority of people in India. (About 40% speak Hindi while 60% speak languages other than Hindi according to the 1951 census data). The place of Russian is unique in U.S.S.R. It is the most advanced language, with a unique literature and the modern scientific and technological progress of the whole country is connected with Russian only. Russian-speaking people had taken a major part in the struggle against the Tsarist regime and in founding the new communistic state. In contrast to this, there are many languages in India which have a more developed literature than Hindi, and which claim to be much older than Hindi. It is felt by many that the Hindi-speaking region represents a region backward in modern social and literary awakening.³ Neither have the Hindi-speaking

² Even so there are pockets where German or Italian or Norwegian is still spoken.

³ The provisional figures for the percentage of literates in the different states according to the 1961 census are as follows :—

I	All-India	—	—	23.7
II	Hindi-speaking States			
	Bihar	—	—	18.1
	Madhya Pradesh	—	—	16.9
	Rajasthan	—	—	14.7
	Uttar Pradesh	—	—	17.5

people taken a greater part in the freedom movement than speakers of the other languages.

The analogy with Switzerland fails because of the number of the major languages and the vastness of each linguistic region. Nobody can dream of suggesting that the federal administration be carried on in a dozen different languages!

There is really no analogy at all with Japan. It is mentioned because a number of people point out to Japan and stress the point that Indian languages are capable of taking up all the modern knowledge and technology and transmitting it to people.⁴

There is no doubt at all that the modern Indian languages can take up and transmit all modern knowledge. The issue at stake is not at all about the ability of our languages to do so. The issue is, firstly, one of a common administrative language for a vast multi-lingual area, secondly about keeping abreast of modern knowledge and technology and thirdly about communication between different states and with the outside world. If there were one language current over the whole of India, even with many dialects, that would have been the language of the state; but as it is, the analogy with Japan is entirely inapplicable.

II Other North Indian States

Assam	—	—	25.8
Kashmir	—	—	10.7
Orissa	—	—	21.5
Punjab	—	—	23.7
West Bengal	—	—	29.1

III South Indian and Western States

Andhra	—	—	20.8
Gujarat	—	—	30.3
Kerala	—	—	46.2
Madras	—	—	30.2
Maharashtra	—	—	29.7
Mysore	—	—	25.3

⁴ Speech delivered by Mr. Shrimali, the Central Minister of Education, at Shantiniketan on February 7, 1961 (vide *Times of India* of February 8, 1961).

The making of Hindi into a federal language is felt to be a handicap by non-Hindi people as they think that the examinations for entry into the federal services will have to be in a language other than the mother tongue for a majority of people while for the Hindi-speaking people this will be in the mother tongue.

A solution to this according to the present author and according to some others is to choose, i.e. to continue to use English as the federal language. A historical accident had made it the language of central administration during the colonial period. It has been the language for higher education in all states. It was the language which brought together the leaders from different language-regions for fighting colonial rule and it is the language which contains literature which alone can enable one to understand the present Indian Constitution and the present political trends. Lastly it will serve not only as a medium of communication with the world outside but will be the best medium for access to modern knowledge and technology.

There are people who reject this proposal because they think it unnationalistic to adopt a non-Indian language. This argument cannot be completely answered except in the following ways. The multi-lingual situation in India needs some inter-communicating medium. A language which is not claimed as native tongue by any region in India, is equally near or distant to all and will not arouse mutual jealousies as one of the regional languages will do. It is a very rich language which will make modern knowledge available to us. It will be in due course (and is even now) so transformed and moulded that there will be an Indian variety of English, where possibly articles like *a*, *an* and *the* will be completely dropped and many other changes made.

The adoption of English raises certain other problems too. They and their solution are indicated below :

The present author thinks that if English is adopted as a federal language it should remain only as a second language in the lower stages of education. Every child in India should get all his education including high school and

a little after only through one of the regional Indian languages. The author has seen many schools which give all education through the English language and has come in contact with pupils who have been educated in such institutions. Such schools in a large number of cases are run by various Christian missions and do not have efficient teachers for subjects like Mathematics or History or Sanskrit. But the more serious objection is, firstly, that no Indian language is so taught that the pupil is well acquainted with its literature and, secondly, the pupil is brought up in an atmosphere which lacks cultural roots. He does not and cannot take up the culture of any of the western countries like Italy, England, Germany or France because he is in India and remains ignorant of his own cultural roots also. The product which is turned out is such that neither the Westerners, nor the Indians would like to own him. He has an attitude of superiority towards his fellow-Indians and an inferiority complex for being an Indian. Even for those few in India who say that they are born with English as their native tongue it would not be a loss to learn through one indigenous language; it will widen their horizon and sympathy. It is for this reason that the author thinks it necessary for our younger people to learn through the language of the region in which they find themselves.

This raises certain difficulties as regards the children of the central government employees and others who move constantly from region to region. It is necessary for the Government of India in co-operation with the States to establish good schools with residential arrangements in each linguistic region. This need arises not only out of the language difficulty but also out of the fact that the government has a large number of employees from all regions of India who are recruited by means of a public examination. These people at present send their children to the English language schools firstly because a transfer from one region to another will cause no difficulty and secondly because they get a good advantage for employment by learning English. The scheme outlined by the author obviates this possibility

and much jealousy and resentment can be eliminated as a consequence.

If the regional language is adopted as the medium of instruction and even if English is made a compulsory second language, many questions will have to be considered. Will all teaching at all stages be through the regional language? At present Indian languages have no good text-books for higher studies to say nothing of reference books. This defect is being slowly remedied, but the text-books turned out by translating *ad hoc* from other languages are of a very low quality. If all studies are through regional languages there would be no independent means to check if standards are kept up. We need for national progress, rapid assimilation and spread of modern science and technology and this object will be helped by instruction through Indian languages at the secondary stage; but at the higher stages it would be best to get the knowledge from original sources. This should not be difficult especially as it is proposed to have English as the second language for all Indian children going up to the secondary stage. The instruction through the regional language with English as the second language can continue till the pupil is about eighteen years old. After that, i.e. at the level of higher education, instruction and examination could be in English with examiners and instructors coming from other regions or even from outside India. Inter-State intercourse at this level should be nurtured in such a way that students can change from one university to another, universities can employ good teachers from any region and for some examinations, examiners also could be appointed from other states or from outside India.

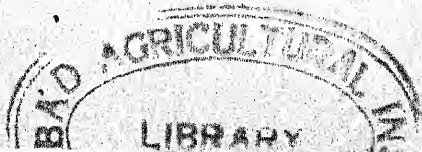
What then will be the place of Hindi in such a scheme? Again the author envisages different levels of communication. A vast number of people will hardly ever go out of their state, but still a large number of non-university people from different linguistic regions will have occasion to meet each other. They very probably will talk and understand a kind of all-India Hindi which no Hindi person would like to think as his language. This Hindi will be

transmitted through the agency mostly of the Hindi talking pictures whose songs are already sung all over India. The systematic instruction in Hindi in schools in the non-Hindi regions should not go beyond bare necessity.

What and how should English be taught? Certainly not in the way it is taught now. The drawing up of the syllabus should not be left in the hands of professors of English who are interested in English literature only. English in future in India is going to be an instrument of getting Western knowledge and technology and its teaching will have to be devised in such a way that history of literature or the works of great and ancient writers and poets form but a minimal part of it. The pupil should read voluminously and in varied subjects and a stage will come when he begins to understand what is read or spoken of modern thought.

This kind of language instruction is connected intimately with employment too. The federal government and the state governments are very large employers. All personnel in such departments as Post and Telegraph, Railways, central ministries at Delhi, Ports, research institutions, the three armed services, Income Tax etc. are recruited directly by federal agencies. A great part of the controversy about a common language hinges round the mode and conditions of recruitment of these employees. Delhi the capital of India is located on the borders of three linguistic regions — namely those of Punjabi, Rajastani and Hindi. People outside these linguistic regions feel that these three regions get special advantages as regards employment and enterprise because of the nearness of the capital. These advantages would be enhanced manyfold for the Hindi speaking people if Hindi is made the federal language.

With reference to this aspect of the question, the language commission set up under the chairmanship of the late Shri B. G. KHER in 1956 had asked witnesses if they would be satisfied if after making Hindi the federal language, the central government fixed a quota of central government employees for each linguistic region. This



solution to the problem of competition for central employment was rejected by many but it does open a new approach to the field. Each question of social reconstruction involves us in work at different levels. At the Centre as also at the State level there are types of employment which involve almost no specialization at the time of recruitment. The skills are learned after recruitment. Such employments are those of the soldier, the seaman, the ground staff of the air force, workers in railways and the roads. Next to these would come the lowest services in the postal and telegraph departments and the vast army of peons seen in various government offices. Some of this recruitment can be restricted to the area where the services are to be performed while others like the services in the three armed forces can be deliberately and evenly distributed in the different States. The British had created a myth of martial and non-martial people. This needs to be exploded. The recruitment for the fighting services is an indirect means of bringing home to illiterate or barely literate people from all states the value of some kinds of modern knowledges like hygiene and medicine. It also inculcates discipline. If military units are so constituted that people of different castes work together and people of different regions live and work together, that may break caste barriers and build up new feelings of one-ness. For the prosperity it brings to villages and for the reasons enumerated above this recruitment should be distributed justly to all States. Railways and road maintenance of the usual type can also draw on local services. Certain services needing specialization or higher education will need open competitive examinations where fair play and impartiality are guaranteed by the complete anonymity of the examinee as far as the examiner is concerned. However good interviews and *viva voce* examinations may be, in the present Indian set up the current examination system by papers seems to fulfill a necessary function. Just as in the case of castes and whole groups, even States are not on a par as regards education. Recruitment from all States may not be possible but should be positively encouraged.

were uniform for each group. Among Hindus, Jains and Buddhists a single law was not in existence and behavioural rules changed according to time, the part of the country and, in the case of Hindus, according to caste. The Muslim rulers concerned themselves directly with the collection of taxes, but as regards civil disputes, old traditions were followed. Similar was the case as regards the British with a few modifications. An attempt was made to define the law by which Hindus were governed but a uniform code could not emerge as regional differences of patterns were very great.⁵ The British on their own initiative made one great change in the prevalent Hindu practice. This was the law against Sutee — the custom of burning widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands. Since then upto the time the British rule ended, some laws were passed in connection with which the initiative was taken by educated Hindus.⁶ Dr. AMBEDKAR, the leader of the untouchable Mahar caste, a student of Hindu law and a champion of the down-trodden, was the person who felt it necessary to have a Hindu code applicable to all Hindus.

⁵ In Bengal and Bihar the joint family was constituted in the same manner as elsewhere in India but succession, inheritance and the rights in property of a man holding ancestral property were different.

In North India marriage among near kin was not allowed. In almost all of the south, cross-cousin marriage and the marriage of a man to his younger sister's daughter was allowed.

In the north and most of the south the succession was patrilineal, but in Malabar, Travancore and Cochin it was matrilineal. These are but a few examples. For details see "*Kinship Organisation in India*" by the same author, Deccan College Monograph Series, No. 11, Poona, 1953.

⁶ The most important among them were:

1. Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act of 1865;
2. The Age of Consent Act;
3. Raising the age of marriage of a Hindu girl to 14;
4. Giving of an equal share with sons in the property of the deceased to the widow.

All these laws except about Sutee and widow remarriage were repealed when parts of the comprehensive Hindu code were passed one after the other beginning with 1955.

He resigned his law-ministership because, among many other reasons, the code as prepared by him could not be passed at once in its entirety in the Indian parliament. Since then however parts of the code are being passed separately. The following important Acts have been passed :⁷

1. The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955.
2. The Hindu Succession Act, 1956.
3. The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956.
4. The Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956.

Some of the major changes introduced by these laws in what was formerly regarded as the civil law governing Hindus are :

1. Each Hindu marriage has to be registered, though non-registration is not a proof of non-marriage.
2. Monogamy was enforced by law.
3. Certain degrees of blood relations are not allowed to marry except in south India where kin-marriage is widely practised.
4. Divorce or separation on certain conditions is allowed.
5. The wife and the daughters get equal shares with sons in the estate of a man who dies intestate.

Since the British rule India has had a well codified criminal law which applies to all Indians irrespective of caste or religion. (Indian Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, etc.). It is worth considering if it cannot become possible to devise a code embodying what the Germans call "*Familien-Recht*" for the whole of India.

The British had no interest in making such a code. After the revolt of 1857 the Queen in a declaration had assured her Indian subjects that her government would not interfere in the religious practices of her new subjects. Neither had the British any particularly urgent motives to generate among the different religions and caste groups a feeling of belonging together or oneness which the new Indian Government is so anxious to create and to nurse.

⁷ For details see "*A Text Book of Hindu Law*" by DEOKI NANDAN, Ram Narayan Lal Beni Prasad Publishers, 1960.

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3. The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956.
4. The Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956.

Some of the major changes introduced by these laws in what was formerly regarded as the civil law governing Hindus are :

1. Each Hindu marriage has to be registered, though non-registration is not a proof of non-marriage.
2. Monogamy was enforced by law.
3. Certain degrees of blood relations are not allowed to marry except in south India where kin-marriage is widely practised.
4. Divorce or separation on certain conditions is allowed.
5. The wife and the daughters get equal shares with sons in the estate of a man who dies intestate.

Since the British rule India has had a well codified criminal law which applies to all Indians irrespective of caste or religion. (Indian Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, etc.). It is worth considering if it cannot become possible to devise a code embodying what the Germans call "*Familien-Recht*" for the whole of India.

The British had no interest in making such a code. After the revolt of 1857 the Queen in a declaration had assured her Indian subjects that her government would not interfere in the religious practices of her new subjects. Neither had the British any particularly urgent motives to generate among the different religions and caste groups a feeling of belonging together or oneness which the new Indian Government is so anxious to create and to nurse.

⁷ For details see "*A Text Book of Hindu Law*" by DEOKI NANDAN, Ram Narayan Lal Beni Prasad Publishers, 1960.

As regards changing the old customs the new laws have radically changed the old customs with reference to 1, 2, 4 and 5 in the items of Hindu code quoted above. There cannot be any question about hesitation to interfere with old customs. The interference in the old customs seems to be due to a desire to remove the disabilities from which women suffered i.e. to give equality which the constitution guarantees to all and to allow the dissolution of the marriage bond. The injunction as regards registration seems to be with a view to facilitate collection of statistics while the one about bigamy is due to the influence of Western Christian practices.

There are important agencies besides law which control social behaviour. These are : religion, and the opinion of the group to which a person belongs. Conscience, in a large measure, is internalized mores of the society. This also is an important factor in the control of behaviour. The author thinks that the less legal interference there is, on questions of marriage, the better it is for society, and that the question of the number of people involved in a marital partnership had best be left to be decided by religion, public opinion and private conscience. Similarly, as one third of India allows, or, in many cases prefers cross-cousin marriage, it would not have mattered much if all cousin marriages were allowed by law. Biologically there is no difference between cross- and parallel-cousin marriage. The consequences need not be considered biologically as we are discussing a social event. A few words are however necessary because a number of northern people consider cousin-marriage as a dysgenic practice. The inbreeding is never of a degree carried out in laboratories on animals or by breeders of pet animals and race horses. Large sections of Indian and other populations which have allowed cousin-marriage for many centuries do not show any kind of degeneracy. The historical and cultural record of south India is as brilliant if not more so than that of northern India. Marriage within small castes also leads to inbreeding and that has never been frowned upon by orthodox northerners. It would therefore be quite suffi-

cient if any normal adult person is allowed to marry another provided they are not related as brothers and sisters or parents and children. This taboo is observed by all Indians — Hindu, Muslim, Christians, Jews, Buddhists, Jains and all tribal people. The further restrictions as regards kinship can best be left to the respective religions. This small change would make the law applicable to all communities in India and people won't have to skip from one religion to another^s to contract a marriage tabooed by a particular group inasmuch as such a marriage would be valid according to the law of the land.

Another item which seems to be redundant in the present code and which makes it inapplicable to all communities in India is the one which makes monogamy compulsory. By the restriction of the law to Hindus only tribals like Todas can practice polyandry and Muslims can practise polygyny. Before this law was passed polygyny was an allowed custom among all Hindus and polyandry was practised by a number of groups from the sub-Himalayan region in the north to Travancore in the south. Except among some rich people and some ruling chiefs and some castes, polygyny was but rarely practised. Polyandry seemed to be on the decline even among the groups among whom it was the pattern for marriage. The law has effectively interfered with the lives of perhaps 1 or 2 per cent people in India but this interference seems unwarranted and unnecessarily creates anger among Hindus and prevents the marriage law from becoming universally applicable.

Everybody knows that the insistence on monogamy in the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 and in some of the laws passed in a few States prior to that, was due to the refor-

^s The author knows of a respected Hindu Brahmin family in Poona in which children of two brothers have married. As this type of marriage is tabooed among all Hindus, the couple went to Ceylon, became Buddhist and married.

In another case known to the author a Christian woman became Hindu in order to contract a bigamous marriage (the Bigamy Law was not passed then).

mistic zeal of certain sections of Western-educated Hindus, which considered the Christian monogamous pattern of marriage as worth imitating and that monogamy, even legally imposed monogamy, was normally superior to polygyny.

In spite of monogamy having been a tenet of Christianity for nearly 2000 years, cases of bigamy occur all the time and when one reads of such cases i.e. those that come before the courts, one has the feeling that the practice has a certain constant percentage among Western people.

Many more people in the West are having more than one partner during the course of their married lives than those who practised polygyny in India. Only, they take on a new partner after divorcing the old one so that they do not have more than one partner at the same time. However, from a moral point of view the author does not find any difference between two partners at different times and two partners at the same time. The number and intensity of social problems arising in both cases seem to be of the same order. Behaviour of the highest moral standard also is possible in both types of situations. Changing a partner after divorce is a social phenomenon much discussed in Western literature and sociology and I need not discuss it here. I would however like to refer to some cases in India involving polygyny which were personally known to me, which will illustrate the moral choice involved (see Appendix).

Among some castes the number of people having more than one wife is greater than among others. Such is the case for example among the cotton and wool weaver caste. The work unit is the family and to each wife is allotted a certain work before the yarn is ready to be set on the loom. Sometimes agriculturists had wives living on farms situated at a distance from each other and travelled between and lived regularly at the two households.

A very large majority of women in India have wifehood as an honorable way of earning a living. Even in polygynous India marrying a man who already had a wife was considered but a second choice. This was done (1) if

a girl was poor or (2) if a man was very rich or (3) if a girl could not easily get married as she did not have good looks or in rare cases (4) if the girl's parents or family got money or other assistance from the groom's family. Many a girl has willingly married a rich man with a wife rather than a poor bachelor who had nothing to offer. After all, there will always be people ready to compromise on one item or the other in their life's situation and polygyny is one such compromise allowed by certain societies.

The law is especially irksome because it does not apply to some people e.g. to Muslims. If a thing is forbidden because on the basis of some moral principles it is felt to be bad, it must be forbidden to all people and not just a few. Muslims are in no way gainers by being exempted from this law, but this gives ground for Hindu propagandists to have a grievance. In a society divided deeply by castes and religions, even such a small ground for alleged preferential treatment need not exist and from this view point too the monogamy section in the Hindu Marriage Act seems to be uncalled for.

The thing which was really wrong as regards polygyny was that it was imposed without choice on many women. What was needed to remove social injustice would be a law providing a way of escape and monetary compensation for a partner not willing to live in such a household. It would suffice to make that a ground for divorce and compensation.

The same arguments apply to polyandrous practices too. Taking all these things into consideration it should have been possible to devise a law governing marriage and dissolution of marriage which would be applicable to all Indian citizens.

The same applies to the law about inheritance and succession. Parliament has already modified the ancient Hindu practice inasmuch as following the Constitution it has given an equality with men to the women of a family. As regards this law the prescriptions differ according to (a) whether one is a member of a joint or a non-joint family, (b) whether one is a member of

a patrilineal or a matrilineal family and (c) whether one is governed by some modifications of the above two types of families. If the law is made general and universal it will not need many modifications, exceptions and other similar complications. It should enunciate certain principles for the patrilineal type of joint family and others for the matrilineal type. The Muslims follow the patrilineal pattern except in Travancore, where like their Hindu brethren they have large matrilineal families. If by providing for them and for the Jews and Parsees one or two more types are added for determining succession and inheritance, it would certainly not make the law more complicated than it is today. This attempt is worth making. A common civil code for all the citizens of India would be a challenge to the spirit of tolerance and liberalism taught by the ancient Hindus and loudly voiced as a precious cultural possession by the present Hindus. It will be a symbol of a new unity for the people of India.

Another change from the old Hindu practice in the new law of succession is complete deprivation of any rights for maintenance of a concubine and her children. According to old practice and legal decisions a concubine and her children had certain rights in the estate. The author has known cases in which this right was enforced by a court of law during the British times, because the Hindu law as administered at that time was based on the injunctions of the Smrtis. In the new law, all mention of a concubine and her children has been dropped from the list of heirs and successors. In the author's opinion this deprivation compares with the action of Abraham in setting his concubine, Hagar and her child Ishmail in the desert. A concubine is a woman who lives with a man for the whole of his life and one would expect that he should be made to provide for her and her children. This omission goes against natural justice, serves no moral principle and unnecessarily restricts the law only to one community.

Having considered two major questions vitally affecting the unity of India, I propose to deal with some more

problems of the same kind in the remaining part of this chapter.

Among India's people there are some who do not kill or eat the meat of any kind of animal, while at the other extreme, are people who will kill and eat almost any living thing. Between these two types of groups, are those who will eat and/or kill only particular types of animals and some who have a definite taboo towards some animals due to alleged evilness or sacredness. The problem is fraught with deep feelings nurtured through generations. It is also connected with the needs of a modern state and an evergrowing population which uses land indiscriminately. Indian agricultural economy is dependent on seasonal rainfall and conservation of soil. Both these are adversely affected by destruction of forests and trees and overgrazing by animals. No animal is as destructive to trees as the goat. This animal has acquired a sentimental value in recent times because it was called the "poor man's cow" by Mahatma Gandhi. The poor man however keeps a goat because it eats the foliage of all the surrounding trees. The national loss it entails is far greater than the little milk or meat it gives. It needs to be restricted and perhaps altogether banned from certain areas as the state of Israel has recently done. The cattle pose another problem. It is using land for fodder which is needed for grain; through overgrazing it lays soil bare which is then washed away in the monsoon rains. In certain parts of Maharashtra (Sangli, Satara) cattle which was let loose because it was too old to work has reverted back to a wild state. Such cattle move in great herds and have been eating with impunity the harvest of the farmers. Cattle which is let loose right in the midst of cities in the name of a god or a temple are a menace to school-going children. The bullock might be replaced in work through mechanical contrivances like the tractor and the bus. The number of bullock carts plying on roads has gone down since the introduction of trucks and buses. The female of the buffalo is ousting the cow as milch-cattle. Whatever the situation, one can make laws for preventing slaughter of animals in an indiscrimi-

nate way and publicly, but in a multi-cultural state only one animal, say the cow or bullock, cannot be singled out to form the basis of state policy. Active protection of the feelings of a community must be coupled with due freedom of others.

The way of life of the Indian society described in the first four chapters has been such that groups have lived side by side without merging. This, coupled with a philosophy which teaches that God can meet different people in different ways according to their hearts' desires, has resulted in a way of thought and behaviour which the Hindus like to call "tolerance". If there were real tolerance based on understanding of and sympathy for the values of other groups, the experiment of living together would have come up against no difficulties at all. But today the social, and therefore the economic and political life of the people is vitiated by distrust, hatred, jealousy and rivalries for groups other than one's own. From the smallest group to the largest the battle is fought with arson, rape, killing and robbery and generally under the guise of moral indignation or some moral principle. Modern democracy and elections have given a new edge to old antagonisms. History, mythology, statistics are misused in these campaigns and young people reading distorted accounts of the activities of people belonging to certain other groups get heated to the point of organizing or joining "self-defence" or "service" groups with military discipline. No party hesitates to make use of group loyalties and group rivalries and at the same time all parties are loudly denouncing "casteism and communalism".⁹

The groups which are locked in this struggle are religious groups like the Hindus, Muslims, Parsees, Christians, Sikhs etc. Among Hindus, the untouchables against the touchables; religious sects like Lingayats and

⁹ The author has witnessed two periods of such group hatreds. One was in Germany, just when Hitler was coming to power, the second was just before and after the murder of Mahatma Gandhi in India.

non-Lingayats (in Karnatak); caste-clusters like Brahmins and non-Brahmins (all over India, but especially in the whole of the country south of the river Narmada); within non-Brahmins one type of caste-cluster against others (for example Maratha versus Mali, and Maratha versus Leva in Maharashtra); within the untouchable group one untouchable caste against another (e.g. Mahars versus Chambhars in Maharashtra); and lastly the tribal people versus the non-tribal.

As regards rivalries between groups one of the arguments put forward is to represent the rival group as aliens. The Hindus like to represent the Muslims as both foreigners and, because of partition, as traitors. The non-Brahmins like to think of the Brahmins in the same way. The scheduled castes have taken up new names like Adi-Dravida (the original Dravidians) or Adi-Karnataka (the original inhabitants of Karnatak) to suggest that all the others were new-comers. With regard to the demand of the Muslims to have a separate state, one may regret the event, but one cannot call it a traitorous act. It has already been stated that India was never politically one until the British brought it under one rule. Though the Mughal power had almost waned before the British took over, still the emperor at Delhi was officially acknowledged as suzerain even by the Marathas. The Muslims had lived in India as conquerors for nearly a thousand years. Bengal and Sind were taken by the British rulers from Muslim rulers. Sind had historically become a Muslim kingdom as early as the 10th century. During the British rule there were many Hindu-Muslim riots, though for a time both the groups had combined in a common struggle against the British. During the last stages of this struggle however the Muslims came to realise that they who were once rulers would always be fated to remain a minority in the Indian Central Government and chose to break away. This separation can be deplored; the events following it were awful on both sides, but still the parting cannot be represented as a traitorous act. Neither does it now justify the demand that those who have stayed behind (and who have

no other home except India), be deemed foreigners and hated. A ceaseless campaign goes on in a section of the Indian Press which represents every criminal act of a Muslim as a crime of the whole community and young people are incited against Muslims.¹⁰ A similar campaign goes on, on the other side of the border with equal zest against the Hindus. The same technique is employed in other cases too. Mahatma Gandhi was murdered by a man belonging to the Chitpavan Brahmin caste in Maharashtra. This occasion was seized upon by the Maratha community to burn down and plunder Brahmin houses, an orgy in which thousands of families were rendered houseless and women on some occasions were also assaulted. The Government has not been able to reduce communal tensions because (i) it uses communal loyalties and hatreds to fight its political campaigns just as others do, (ii) it did not institute or allow impartial inquiries into arson, looting and rape occurring in communal riots of all types and (iii) on no occasion does it publish authoritative facts and figures about the loss of life, property and honour arranged according to communities. This last omission is made use of by partisans to represent that the looting and arson was either of a negligible nature and occasioned by the moral indignation felt by their side (as in the case of the Maratha atrocities against Brahmins), or were committed by the other community (as in the case of the Jabalpur riots). The public must know the facts so that the saner elements can comment on them and people can be made to think. Innumerable funds exist in India for the benefit of castes and religious groups and it is necessary that these should all be merged into a general fund for the benefit of all those who are needy and deserving. Contributions to funds intended to benefit castes or communal groups should be stopped by law.

The legislation passed or intended to be passed by certain State governments, though given high-sounding names

¹⁰ The recent (March 1961) press campaign against the Muslims after the Jabalpur riots is a case in point.

(e.g. socialistic pattern of society, co-operative farming, prohibition etc.) seems to hit certain castes or religious groups far more adversely than others. The Bombay law of prohibition affected the Parsee community very much and many felt that it was a blow aimed at a rival group. In the same way the legislation about a ceiling on land holdings as proposed at first in Maharashtra (February 1961) appeared to many to be intended against the western Maharashtra Mali caste. The rivalry between two groups of capitalists does not merely remain a personal rivalry but becomes simultaneously a caste and religious rivalry, for example between Marwaris and Parsees. When children belonging to different communities quarrel, the event threatens to develop into a major communal riot.

This is not a thing which will yield to oratory. Patient re-education is needed, not only for the masses, but also for the political parties and their leaders contending for power in the political arena. A moral code for political conduct needs to be evolved and strictly adhered to by all parties. People must recognise that quarrels between groups run on the same lines, that the Hindu-Muslim quarrel is not intrinsically different from the Brahmin-non-Brahmin or the Maratha-Mali quarrels. The one cannot be represented as something deeper and more fundamental than the others. Neither can one group claim to have more right to be called Indian than another group. The Muslims have contributed to what we call our culture and civilization. So have the Brahmins, the agricultural castes, the untouchables and the tribals. The long and varied history of the land must be learnt in an unbiassed way.

In Indian epistemology, moral philosophy and literature the concept of memory called '*Smṛti*'¹¹ plays a role which needs to be remembered in this context. '*Smṛti*' is the principle of recognition, the principle of continuity in a person's life and the principle of continuity between one birth and the next. Thus each act of cognition is recogni-

¹¹ This *Smṛti* is different from the *Smṛti* literature referred to in other chapters. *Smṛti* here means simply "memory".

tion, each birth is a re-birth and each friendship and attraction, a resumption of an old relationship.

A man should remain conscious till the moment of death, remembering what he has done and what he wishes to become. Memory is dormant, sensed rather than actively felt; when a man remembers his previous existence he is *jāti-smara*. When he remembers all the past as leading to the present, and has no desires to take him into another birth, then final release is achieved. This doctrine applies to a society and its culture also. Communication over a time-span through memory—oral or written—binds a society together. For final release the memory must be clear and untainted by revulsion or love. Today must be viewed as made up of all past. India to a very large extent has a continuity with its past, but portions of its populations cherish some aspects of the past and reject others. A complete unclouded memory alone will lead to sanity, partial amnesia will not do. Some link their past to 'Aryan' Vedic people only, forgetting that Hinduism today is largely non-Vedic. Some look with hatred on the Muslim period, forgetting that our daily life contains much that we have taken from the Muslims. Some will wipe out all memory of the British. The Dravidians deny and denounce everything 'Aryan' or 'Sanskritic'. The northerners forget that nobody knows what racial mixture the Vedic people represented and that we all are mongrels. The pre-Dravidians, the Aryans, the Dravidians, the unknown speakers of Mundari languages, all have contributed to our physical and cultural make up and it will not do to forget any of this ancestry or reject parts of it. Every one of us is all that. It will not do to hate our past or be ashamed of it.

The Indian society is trying to work out modes of living together by breaking old caste loyalties. But it seems today (the year 1961) that the government and the people are both strengthening the old bonds and creating new islands of separateness. A few examples will illustrate this. The Constitution, in order to give protection and encouragement to those who have remained economi-

cally backward and socially isolated, has drawn up schedules of the tribal people and people of certain castes as those deserving and needing specially favoured treatment. That is why these castes and tribes are called "scheduled castes" and "scheduled tribes". If a person belongs to one of these, he is ensured a certain representation in the state and federal legislatures and a certain favoured treatment in the matter of employment under the state by means of reservation of posts. Also, children of parents belonging to these two groups are given financial help from state funds for their education and sometimes a little land is also granted to such people. The majority of persons belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes are in dire need of these extra amenities but the way these are given perpetuates social segregation. Sometimes these advantages are claimed and enjoyed by people who do not need them. This abuse of the constitutional provisions has now led to a modification of the procedure to get financial help. It is now necessary to produce a certificate from certain government officials about the financial condition of the family before such help is given.

The listing in the schedules in the Constitution is sought to be continued by the people who are classified as backward.¹²

Primitive groups which did not know of one another's existence and which could not communicate with one another because of linguistic differences, have been shown a new basis of group formation through the fact that they all belong to the "scheduled tribes". There is an administrative machinery to see that specially favoured treatment is given to them. This machinery employs big and small administrators, mainly from the non-scheduled groups, whose interest it is to keep the separate administration of the scheduled castes and tribes going. In the very nature

¹² Recently the government of Mysore represented to the Central Government that 90% of the population of that state was backward and so the state should receive extra help from Central funds. A similar claim was made in Parliament by the representatives from Orissa.

of things the extra help given to backward people is supposed to last for a while until the backwardness disappears. Institutions set up to carry out this work must also have a short span of life. But as students of sociology know, institutions once set up have a tenacious life and the very people employed to destroy backwardness may help to prolong it.

If one takes into account all these things, one can see that national unity or togetherness may be jeopardised by keeping up these schedules. On the other hand it is necessary that the kind of specially favoured treatment referred to above should continue for backward people. It is therefore necessary to legislate not in terms of certain castes and tribes but in more general terms, e.g. economic or educational backwardness, which would become applicable to all citizens. The beneficiaries can be designated as coming from certain economic groups and/or from certain underdeveloped rural areas. No needy and backward person should be prevented from getting help, but then he need not necessarily and exclusively belong to certain "named" groups. The whole legislation must be such that it is applicable to all citizens of India irrespective of creed or colour and it must not be profitable for people to belong nominally to particular and distinct groups like castes, tribes or religious communities.

Many state governments have generously supported projects of building decent shelters for people of scheduled castes. The author has visited some of these new colonies which bear names like Gandhi-Nagar or Nehru-Nagar. These are situated at some distance from the rest of the town and have given rise to a new consciousness of separateness and the power of voting in a block.

Sometimes government effort to give aid to the poor results in excluding those who need it most. The author has pointed out how this happens.¹³ The village welfare

¹³ *Evaluation report, on the working of the Welfare Extension Projects of the Central Social Welfare Board, Planning Commission, 1959.*

centres started by the Central Welfare Board are housed many times in rented buildings or buildings donated by some rich man of a village. People who can rent part of their house, or who can donate a whole house belong always to the higher castes and the houses are situated right in the midst of the village. In many cases such houses cannot be entered by the untouchables or are so far from the untouchable quarters that they cannot give effective help in education and medicine to those who most need it. This also adds up to distrust and resentment felt by one group towards another.

Literacy, ease of travel and newspapers are helping in creating new types of castes. Pseudo-anthropology has led to attempts at amalgamation of castes which bear similar names and have similar occupations. The potters have a central body to amalgamate all potter castes of Maharashtra. Sometimes such associations exist for the whole of India. There is an all-India shepherd union. These are not primarily trade unions but attempts to extend the kinship circle represented by a caste. At the meetings of such associations resolutions are passed such as "‘sub-castes’ should be abolished and by inter-marriage the unity of the caste should be restored — a unity which was disturbed by the splitting of the original one caste into many sub-castes."

Such attempts at ‘uniting’ sub-castes sometimes result in new quarrels. For example, the "Brahman Sabha" in Bombay used to recognise the "Brahmin-hood" of certain castes only and has given deep offence to many castes known as some kind of Brahmins.

Most often the intended unity is a unity in name only. It is useful for fighting elections but when the question of marriage comes up, over ninety per cent of marriages are within the own caste¹⁴ in urban areas and almost cent per cent in rural areas.

¹⁴ *Vide* (a) Report on inter-group relations by KARVE and DAMLE shortly to be published by the Deccan College, Poona and (b) figures in the survey of Poona marriages of 1959 being compiled by a student of this institution, Shri MOKASHI. Both these are referred to before.

The population of each caste and its distribution, its hereditary occupation and present economic and educational status all need to be taken into account when plans are made for the advancement of one caste or of a whole nation as the following examples will make clear — The untouchables constitute about 10% of the population of Maharashtra. Among the untouchable castes the Mahar caste-cluster makes up over 70%. This Mahar population is scattered over most of the villages of Maharashtra. In any village there may be from one to about twenty houses of this community, as usual set apart from the whole of the village. Among untouchables, castes like Chambhar and Holar (leather workers), Mang (tanners and rope-makers) have occupations which require some skill and are useful even today to the villagers. The Mahars on the other hand represent a caste of village servants, who are not specialists of any type.¹⁵ Their occupation used to be that of messengers, watchmen, removers of dead cattle and attendants on revenue officers. All these are very dispensable services. Their refusal to carry away dead cattle because of the stigma attached to it has antagonised them from the villagers. They do not take part in the religious ceremonies because of their recent mass conversion to Buddhism. Even before this, they had migrated in very large numbers to the cities as industrial labourers. In the villages quite a number still remain, as there was not enough employment for them in the cities and also because they, as a whole community had a bit of land given to them in the village plus a certain small share of food-grains produced by the village. This latter the villagers are now refusing to give. The land-holding also has been abolished by a recent Act passed in the Bombay legislature with the full consent and agreement of this community. This has snapped their last link with the villages. Under these circumstances their position is very pitiable. Some are still in the ancestral villages but are so harassed by the unsympathetic treatment at the hands

¹⁵ Except as village musicians.

of the rest of the villagers that they are finding it almost impossible to continue there.

In my opinion the best solution to this problem is to help the Mahars in the villages to be transferred to urban industrial centres where they can not only become absorbed in the economic development, but where it is easier to break down the segregation to which they are subjected in villages. There is a possibility of at least the richer of them living in localities where touchables live.

It may not be possible to absorb all such people in the cities or towns. It would then be necessary to put them on government dole on condition that they must accept any job that becomes available. The Governments in all the States are spending enormous amounts over many projects and it is possible to give jobs to such people there.

This is a solution which seems to run counter to that offered by other agencies. Vinobaji Bhave for example has a programme of taking away land from bigger landholders and distributing it to the landless. In this context expressions like 'the landless' and 'land-hunger' are often used. This programme not only envisages giving land to the landless but also hopes to restore back to the villages their ancient vigour and self-sufficiency. The author has had the opportunity of seeing the working of this programme on some occasions and ventures to say that it has not only not achieved the solution of existing problems but added new complications. There is not enough land or enough bigger landholders in Maharashtra to give sufficient land to all the landless. Distributing about five acres of land to a family only adds to the number of semi-starving people. It gives a little land to people who have absolutely no capital to put in their holdings and who in most cases either have no experience in farming or have lost ancestral lands through carelessness or extravagance. The author has seen such land leased to other farmers by their new owners. If a few Mahars get land in this way they will find it difficult to live in the village as the other villagers are not well disposed to them.



The author has observed villages and made surveys of some for the last twenty-five years and finds two things— (1) the village represents such a narrow circle of social intercourse that life is vitiated by hereditary feuds and rivalries and it represents a stagnant society in which new ideas do not enter easily. It is the stronghold of superstition and witchcraft. (2) Except for a few bigger villages the communities are too small to accommodate artisans or people rendering necessary occasional services. Owing to insufficiency of clientele and unnecessary involvements in the feuds of the majority community, minority groups are happier living in market towns. Such market-towns serve between twenty to thirty villages, have a goodly number of carpenters, smiths, barbers, rope-makers, eating houses and sometimes a cinema. Potters display their wares on market days, and merchants have shops to sell cloth and other articles of consumption.

Such market-towns are so attractive to villagers that almost every able-bodied villager goes to the market-town fifty-two weeks of the year. Even when he has nothing to buy or to sell he makes it a point to go walking anywhere upto six miles and back to be at the market.¹⁶ He goes there to meet people, to exchange gossip, to get away from the monotony of his village for at least one day in the week.

The trend seems to be for many castes to leave the villages and settle in the market town. It has been pointed out that life in India was lived between two cells — (1) the caste and (2) the village. Every one feels it necessary to break one cell. The author thinks that the other cell needs to be broken too — is in fact on the way to a break. It is futile to try to restore it. It would be better to accept and strengthen the new model of villages grouped round a prosperous market-town with one or more small industries to offer employment, medical care in the shape of hospital and a dispensary, education in the shape

¹⁶ In Mountainous tracts like Mahableshwar in the Satara district of Maharashtra, villagers climb over 2000 feet and walk five miles to go to the market place on the market day.

of good schools and entertainment. Such towns need to be connected to villages by good all-weather roads on which buses can ply. The villages will be made up of agriculturists keeping cattle and poultry and the town will be made up of many castes representing artisans, labourers and professionals of all types. Roads would make intercourse easy and continuous and life will be confined not just to one village but to a neighbourhood made up of a town and several villages.

The social aim must not be isolation but building up of larger communities where people can mingle in free un-compulsive intercourse.

Vinobaji BHAVE's way is the easier way. It does not cost government either thought or money to take away from some and give to others. The other way would cost money and need a lot of organization and building up. The former way also fits in with ideas of what is considered as social justice under the name of socialism. It gives the satisfaction of doing something for the poor without really doing anything at all. Landlessness is a condition which is common to many people in a state and need not be considered an evil.¹⁷ Land-hunger is another expression which merely means unemployment. The landless masses never possessed land, there is not enough land to go round. What is needed is employment for these people away from the old stagnant villages. Instead of acknowledging the problem in its entirety, distribution of inadequate strips of land to families merely perpetuates the old situation of utter poverty and general backwardness.

In the zeal to restore the old system and introduce people to democracy, committees of villagers are sought to be created on the basis of elections. These committees have the old name of 'Panchayat' (the village council). The elections have created new means of coercion, bribery

¹⁷ The traditional form of which is best described by Shri ATRE in his "*Gaon-gada*" reissued by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona (in Marathi).

The author has observed villages and made surveys of some for the last twenty-five years and finds two things— (1) the village represents such a narrow circle of social intercourse that life is vitiated by hereditary feuds and rivalries and it represents a stagnant society in which new ideas do not enter easily. It is the stronghold of superstition and witchcraft. (2) Except for a few bigger villages the communities are too small to accommodate artisans or people rendering necessary occasional services. Owing to insufficiency of clientele and unnecessary involvements in the feuds of the majority community, minority groups are happier living in market towns. Such market-towns serve between twenty to thirty villages, have a goodly number of carpenters, smiths, barbers, rope-makers, eating houses and sometimes a cinema. Potters display their wares on market days, and merchants have shops to sell cloth and other articles of consumption.

Such market-towns are so attractive to villagers that almost every able-bodied villager goes to the market-town fifty-two weeks of the year. Even when he has nothing to buy or to sell he makes it a point to go walking anywhere upto six miles and back to be at the market.¹⁶ He goes there to meet people, to exchange gossip, to get away from the monotony of his village for at least one day in the week.

The trend seems to be for many castes to leave the villages and settle in the market town. It has been pointed out that life in India was lived between two cells — (1) the caste and (2) the village. Every one feels it necessary to break one cell. The author thinks that the other cell needs to be broken too — is in fact on the way to a break. It is futile to try to restore it. It would be better to accept and strengthen the new model of villages grouped round a prosperous market-town with one or more small industries to offer employment, medical care in the shape of hospital and a dispensary, education in the shape

¹⁶ In Mountainous tracts like Mahableshwar in the Satara district of Maharashtra, villagers climb over 2000 feet and walk five miles to go to the market place on the market day.

of good schools and entertainment. Such towns need to be connected to villages by good all-weather roads on which buses can ply. The villages will be made up of agriculturists keeping cattle and poultry and the town will be made up of many castes representing artisans, labourers and professionals of all types. Roads would make intercourse easy and continuous and life will be confined not just to one village but to a neighbourhood made up of a town and several villages.

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and rivalry. The Panchayats which work well for the good of the village are exceptions rather than the rule. In this context the whole question of democracy and vote needs a short discussion.

The Indian Union is called a democracy. Democracy assumes that a normal adult individual is capable of exercising choice as to who shall rule. A further implication of this belief is that every normal adult is capable of holding certain positions of power and direction. If both the propositions are worked together, then it should not bring harm to society if the principle of choice is used together with other principles like rotation by age or the principle of chance. An example may be given to make this clear. In the villages the government is now trying out a new experiment of local rule through the local authority of the Panchayat. Elections often lead to bitter feelings and factions which get perpetuated in the numerically small and physically restricted environment of a village. Minority communities are either drawn into such factions or play a disproportionately important role as their few votes can tip the balance of power. Under such circumstances would it not be better to reserve Panchayat membership to a certain age group of the whole population and by rotation? Village affairs are something which every adult can be supposed to understand and such a procedure may reduce (1) tensions and (2) intrusion of larger political quarrels into the village. In its turn it might lead to the tacit understanding that certain issues can be left out of the sphere of power-politics. The head of the Panchayat can be chosen by drawing lots.¹⁸

Power and status are different but go hand in hand on many occasions. Actual power is enjoyed by a person but those who are relatives, or friends or party members get a status and through it a certain amount of power. If power itself were distributed widely and care were taken

¹⁸ It was reported in the "Sakal" newspaper of April 7, 1961 that appointments of some temporary lower staff in the Mahableshwar Municipality (Maharashtra State) were made by drawing lots from among the applicants.

that it did not remain in the same hands long, those not in power can be asked to await their turn.

Transfer of power whether from one group to another or from one individual to another and retirement from active work pose very difficult organizational problems. Succession to the Mughal throne was through blood, but this need not necessarily be so. Power structures of all types are found dependent on sex and age. Among Hindus almost every man marries and finds himself in the power position of a husband and father. A woman becomes a mother or mother-in-law. There are rules for succession so as to avoid domestic crises. There are rules of retirement for all types of specialized services like doctors, teachers, drivers of public vehicles etc. What is lacking is a rule for retirement from non-specialized services like the Sarpanch (foreman of village council) or the ministers who can be "elected" again and again. Vote and election cannot be termed devices which reflect popular will or enable the poor or weak to fight on terms of equality with either the rich or the powerful. If human justice is the aim, and equality the credo, then the machine of political power must be worked in such a way that we use all devices known to us for distribution of power.

Democracy is after all a means to secure social justice and freedom. Election is one of the means of securing democracy. But the vote becomes a saleable commodity and the election a device to retain power by buying votes. Social justice and human freedom are such complicated things that one standard type of means is crude and inadequate to secure them. We must not forget the goals in the zeal for the means. If the goals are thought over deeply some of the democratic and reformistic zeal will wane. "Each man serves his own God who is shaped by his heart's desire" is one of our ancient tenets. We shall allow people this ultimate freedom as long as the freedom of one does not become the bondage of another. This thought will hold our hands from making laws telling people what to eat or drink and how to live or to regulate their lives in detail.

In India from the north to the south are nomadic castes which wander most of the year. The author has seen them on the frozen banks of the upper reaches of the Himalayan rivers, on the plains of northern Gujarat, in the deep south and lastly in Maharashtra. Some of them herd cattle (buffaloes), some are sheep and camel herders, some tend flocks of geese, some herd pigs, some are hunters. They beg a little, steal a little and work a little. They are on the move most of the time with the whole family and all belongings and sleep under the stars. The whole world is theirs. The foolish agriculturist with back-breaking work creates wealth which lies unfenced and unprotected for them to steal from. They have resisted all attempts to settle them. The new government with its reformistic zeal is after them and these last free people of the world may succumb. May an anthropologist plead that as worshippers of many gods we try to find ways for these nomads to live as they choose, not to build houses or settle down? Let us not tie down life to one model leading into one inevitable blind alley of drab comfortable domesticity.

Poor people seem to have played a peculiar role in society at all times. They have provided the means for others for displaying piety and bounty. They have provided the means to exercise power by being made slaves and in recent years have become a pawn in the game of power where they are used as a pretence to seize power. The poor people themselves have rarely the opportunity to plan their own lives to their liking.

The variety of behavioural patterns represents a multiplicity of groups and their ways of life. There are some aspects of this life. (a) the groups, though belonging to one society, have become in certain respects mutually exclusive and antagonistic; (b) the life of all groups, viewed together, offers an immense range of alternatives, making each aware that ethical values can be realised in different ways and that a large number of things are mere matters of tradition without any ethical content *per se*; (c) the same sense has kept this society polytheistic, and at the same time certain cruel practices, which were never univer-

sal, used for worship or propitiation of deities have been given up.

In the attempt to build a new sense of unity, group-life is viewed with suspicion, but smaller groups are necessary for people for the immediate warmth of fellowship. Large groups on the national level tend to demand that individuals are linked to no other groups. In such cases even primary companionships become impossible through mutual suspicion or tend to lose their support from society and the individual is doomed to a loneliness in which the only means of recognition and self-fulfilment become either power or wealth. Neither must the new attempt at unity suppress all patterns but one. Would it not be better to ask ourselves the difficult question of how to foster a feeling of unity without unnecessarily suppressing the multiplicity? The task is difficult as it involves a conscious appreciation by all political leaders and social reformers that the new principles that they may want to introduce are not absolute unshakeable tenets of a monotheistic creed, but variable means of bringing about greater justice and efficiency into a social order.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V

Folk-tales and songs have described the relations between co-wives, as also those between step-mothers and step-children. The literature on the subject dates back to the Atharva Veda, which records certain magic formulæ for making a rival barren.¹⁹ The advice given by a father to his daughter in a famous verse by Kalidas²⁰ was to behave in a friendly fashion towards co-wives. The Indian literature, because of the prevalence of polygyny shows a treatment of the eternal triangle, two women and a man, entirely different from that found in Western literature.²¹ A Marathi saint-poet²² has vividly described the sorry plight of a man who was foolish enough to have two wives. Since ancient times rulers and men of powerful families have been known to contract polygynous marriages for the sake of political alliances. Polygyny was a method of displaying wealth. There were, however, more personal factors involved in such marriages. The following cases, known personally to the author are described in detail as they illustrate some of those personal factors which led people to practise polygyny.

Barrenness or the absence of a male child led oftenest to the man marrying a second wife. In many instances the first wife herself took the initiative in arranging the second marriage of her husband. This type of marriage was not confined to any particular economic class.

A. The wife of a man in the author's kinship group gave birth to a daughter and had to have an operation performed, which made it impossible for her to have any more

¹⁹ *Atharva Veda*, 7, 35 (36).

²⁰ KALIDASA'S *Shākuntala*, Act 4.

²¹ e.g. *Svapnavasavadattā*, by BHASA.

²² TUKARAM, *Abhang* (Marathi), Bombay, Govt. Central Press, 1950, I, p. 428, (No. 1237).

children. She then took the lead in finding a new bride for her husband and lovingly brought up the children of her co-wife. This incident took place 70 years ago.

B. This is a more recent example, about 25 years back. The wife of a rich business man, who also had considerable landed property, did not get a child for several years after their marriage. The husband took his wife to many famous gynaecologists in different parts of the world and they all declared that she was incapable of having children. She then persuaded her husband to marry a second wife, herself chose a suitable bride and had the good fortune of seeing the co-wife give birth to an heir to the property. She always used to say, "An adopted son is a complete stranger and has no connection with me. The son of a co-wife is the son of my husband and is thus closer to me."

C. Both parents of a woman, who had been married for some years, died one after the other and she took over the guardianship of her younger sister. This young girl was attending a college and came to live with her married sister and her husband during the vacations. The elder sister was busy with her household duties and the care of her young children and the younger sister found herself very often in the company of her brother-in-law. Some time later, the elder sister discovered to her dismay that her younger sister was pregnant by her husband. After giving the matter her serious consideration, she thought it best to get her husband to marry her younger sister. As luck would have it, the man died some years later and the younger sister took service in a school and the two sisters brought up their children in a joint household. If the elder sister had driven away her younger sister in a fit of rage, the life of the latter would have been utterly ruined and probably her own domestic life might also not have been any better than it was after her sister became her co-wife.

D. A man of a respected and educated family married a woman from another equally respected and progressive

family. It so happened that the woman had some physical handicap which made it impossible for the couple to lead a normal married life. Under the circumstances the man married a second wife. Although he could have got his first marriage declared null and void and perhaps sent away his first wife to her parental home, he did nothing of the kind. On the contrary, the first wife remained in his house, retained her place of honour as the senior lady of the house and even exercised some authority on the co-wife in the matter of her accompanying the husband on social occasions. The second wife died after a few years and the man, who had now become fairly senior in his profession, married a highly educated lady who took part in various social movements in her town. Both of them were well thought of in their region and earned the respect and goodwill of their fellow-citizens. In fact the way the man had treated the first wife was always considered as an honourable and considerate way. The first marriage took place about 50 years ago.

E. A few years ago, before the law against bigamy was passed the author met a young girl who boarded the train at the railway station of Ahmednagar. An elderly couple had come to see her off. Usual inquiries elicited the fact that the couple were the young girl's parents-in-law. The girl had come from Kalyan, near Bombay, where her husband was working, to help nurse the father-in-law who had been very ill. After about a month's stay she was going back to her husband. The author asked the obvious question about who cooked for the husband during her absence and the young girl answered, that this was taken care of by her co-wife who also happened to be her elder sister. The young girl further informed the author during the conversation that the elder sister and she were deeply attached to each other. The elder sister after her marriage found out that her husband and the parents-in-law were very good and kind people and at the same time quite well off. She had therefore prevailed upon her parents to give the younger sister as bride to the same man and begged her husband to consent to this arrangement. The younger

girl told me that the sisters were very happy together, staying by turns or together with the husband and visiting the parents-in-law's house either in turns or all three together.